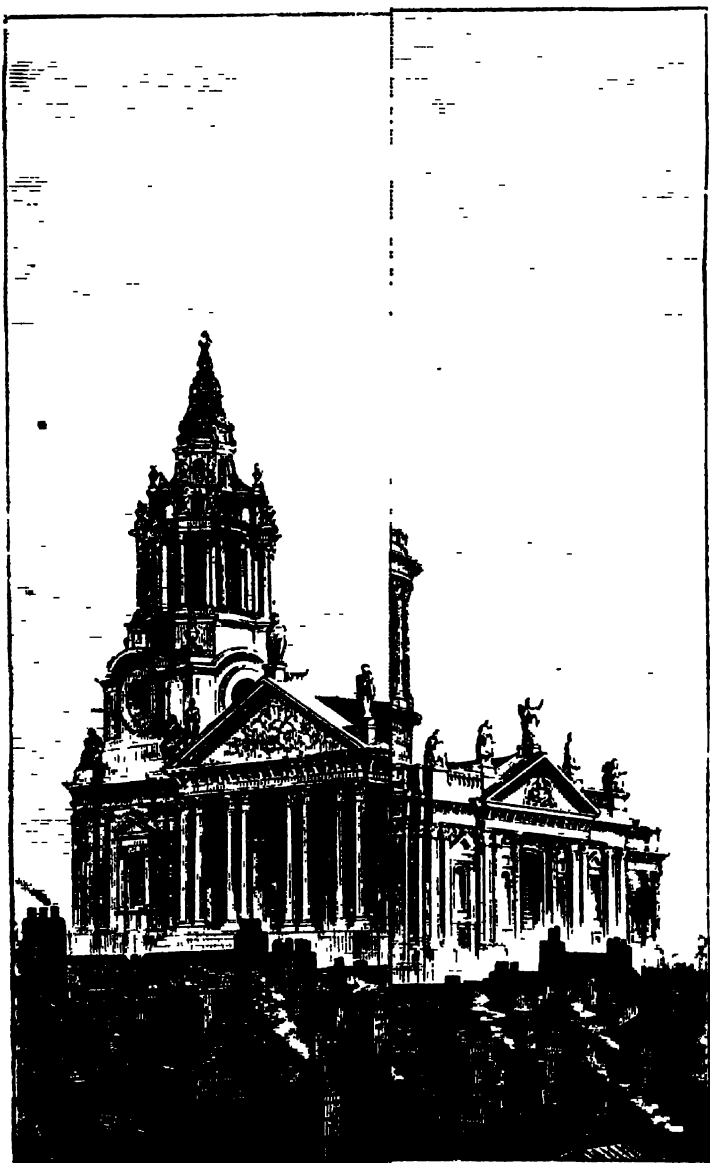


JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

“ The World’s Religions ” Series.

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"The World's Religions" Series.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF JUDAISM

AND

CHRISTIANITY, *IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN RESEARCH AND CRITICISM.*

BY

G. T. BETTANY, M.A., B.Sc.,

Author of "The World's Inhabitants," "Life of Charles Darwin," etc

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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P R E F A C E.

TO all who wish to read a brief narrative of the history of Judaism and Christianity in the light of modern criticism and discoveries, but not written in any spirit of party bias or dogmatism, this little book, completing an account of the World's Religions, is offered as supplying what they want. It is unlike some books of the kind, in not telling over again the most fundamental points with which every one who has read the Bible is familiar, in not assuming that modern theories are necessarily true, or ancient beliefs necessarily false. It is a book which believers in Christianity of all shades of opinion may read without finding any dogmatic statement which will shock their feelings, or any attempt to enforce a peculiar way of looking at things. The most salient characteristics of Judaism and Christianity, and their sacred books, have been selected and recounted, in a form best suited for comparison with other religions. Not assuming the tone of the preacher who enforces a Divine revelation, the author is the more free to point out the excellences of the teaching or the language of the Bible, and the influence they have had.

It is foolish in these days to ignore the discussions and criticisms which have arisen about many biblical questions. This is like ignoring the attacks of enemies in war, or awaiting a battle without any intelligence department. Much of what some regard as destructive criticism has no such tendency in reality. It is undertaken with a most serious desire to ascertain truth, to collect together the utmost amount of historical or other evidence, and to weigh it carefully, apart from preconceived opinions which would bias the judgment. If in such an investigation the special belief of the reader appears to be set aside, that is

necessary to a fair trial; just as the judge, in a case of murder, takes everything as not proven, until it is unmistakably proved, and then leaves all to the jury. No lover of truth need be afraid of impartial inquiry for truth. When any fragment of truth is well established, it becomes necessary to honesty to adopt it; and it is at least necessary for intelligent persons to give a fair hearing to new views. In this book our aim is to set before the reader a number of facts in the history of Judaism and Christianity which appear to have been well established in modern times, while in matters which are under controversy between important schools of divinity and history, the salient points on both sides are presented.

An endeavour is made to bring into clear prominence the vital characteristics of the books of the Old Testament. As to the early history of Christianity, only a brief exposition can be given; but the most distinctive features of Christianity and its Founder have been briefly recounted. The sketch of modern Judaism and of the history of Christianity is of necessity greatly condensed; but it will have its use if it enables readers who cannot find time to read long histories to gain a notion of the vast amount of deeply interesting life through which the Church of Christ has passed. Each age has its own difficulties, its own natural situations which had to be dealt with. Each has produced its men of noble character, all agreed in devotion to God and Christ, though wonderfully diverse in their views on Divine things, their manner of teaching, their ideals of the Church, their mode of dealing with the world. After the early triumphs of the apostolic age, we have the dimly illumined second century, so important in its bearing on future events. Light grows fuller and clearer as we pass through the third and fourth centuries, and, from being persecuted, Christianity became the State religion of the Roman empire. Then we enter upon the multiform results of connection with the State, both in the Eastern and Western Churches, the period of great œcumenical councils to settle universal creeds for the Church. That the vote of an assemblage of bishops can settle any matter of belief whatever we must be

permitted to doubt; but the history of what the Councils settled, and why they did so, is of unending human interest: and if we study early Church history we shall find the same human nature that we are familiar with in modern times. Though in many respects they were less enlightened, their spirits often show as high a capacity for catching the Divine Light and reflecting it as any in our day.

Mediævalism, the growth of the autocratic papacy, the formation of the monastic orders, the grasping of temporal power by popes and bishops, their struggle with emperors and kings, have still for the serious reader their lessons and import. The scholastic theology of the Middle Ages, a remarkable attempt to be logical, superseded the less systematic expositions and treatises of earlier times; while here and there voices were heard, such as those of Abelard, Roger Bacon, Huss, and Wyclif, which portended the coming of great convulsions of thought and practice. When we are fairly started on the modern period, the interest of the Reformation and its antagonistic influences grows tremendous. Our space has not enabled us to do full justice to the causes which led to the establishment of the Protestant Churches and the limitation of the grip of the Church of Rome upon the world. In a future volume the writer hopes to give more fully the course and results of the great Reformation of religion in modern times.

G. T. B.

Midsummer, 1891.

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BOOK I.

THE JEWISH RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

Early History—Moses.

Old Testament the chief authority—Its growth and editing—Elohists and Jehovist narratives—The cosmogony of Genesis—Dean Perowne's view—The Jehovist narrative of creation—The fall variously interpreted—History of Adam's descendants—Longevity of man—The deluge—The covenant with Noah—The confusion of tongues—The history of Israel begins—Abraham's migration—His worship of God—Abraham and Melchizedek—Divine appearances—Abraham's character—Sacrifice of Isaac—Jacob and special providence—Sacred stones and household images—Jacob's great struggle—Patriarchal moral character—Jacob's dying blessings—Israel in Egypt—Egyptian influences—Education of Moses—His long residence in Midian—The Divine commission—The plagues of Egypt—Passage of the Red Sea—The decalogue—Character of Moses.

WE must preface our remarks upon the Jewish religion by saying that it is outside the scope of this work to offer any discussion on the question of the inspiration of the Bible, respecting which so many different views are current, even amongst divines. It is simply sought to give an account of Jewish religion and its growth in the same manner as the author has done with some other religions, noting the principal features of Old Testament teaching, and their historical development, and especially those points in which a comparison can be made with other religions. For this purpose it is, of course, necessary to examine the historical records of the Old Testament in a manner as unprejudiced as possible by theories of inspiration, which on any theory acted through human instruments.

It is somewhat singular that the Old Testament is almost the only authority for much of the history of the Jews, owing to the absence of contemporary records in stone, and of relics of buildings, etc., which in other countries have thrown light on religion; and it is in the religious history of Chaldæa, Assyria, Philistia, and Egypt that the most interesting facts have come to light which illustrate the development of religion among the Jews.

Taking the Pentateuch and the Historical Books of the Old Testament as a whole, it is pretty generally agreed that, whatever be the date of their arrangement and promulgation in the form in which we have them (and this is variously placed in the period between Hilkiah's discovery of the Law in Josiah's reign, in the seventh century B.C., and its recitation by Ezra about B.C. 445), the compilers or authors had before them previous records, some of which may be distinguished from one another by their language, while of others we have only the names, such as the Book of the Wars of Jehovah. There are many indications in the Pentateuch that it was at least extensively revised long after the date of Moses; and, indeed, there is nowhere in the Pentateuch any assertion that Moses wrote the books which have generally been attributed to him, and which speak of him in the third person. Discussion as to how much Moses has contributed to the Pentateuch would be out of place here. It is stated in numerous passages that Moses wrote records of events, and of the commands of Jehovah; and in several passages of the Old Testament this is definitely attributed to him. Great knowledge of Egypt and Egyptian customs is shown by the writer, thus according with the opportunities Moses had of gaining such knowledge. The value of the historical works of the Old Testament as sources of history is extreme; and many facts therein recorded have been remarkably confirmed by archæological and geographical investigations, especially by those of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

A most conspicuous result of modern criticism of the Pentateuch, is the discernment of at least two authors or

documents, one describing the supreme God as Elohim, "the Mighty," a plural title which was well understood by the peoples surrounding the early Israelites, and among whom the briefer El was a common designation for their own chief deity; the other using the term Jehovah, or Jahveh, translated "the Lord." A third variation is found when the names are coupled together. The passage in Exodus vi. 3, where Jehovah says to Moses, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (El Shaddai), but by My name Jehovah I was not known to them," appears to fix all narratives in which the name Jehovah is used as later than that revelation to Moses; but this is by no means agreed upon by critics. We may, however, study the religious development of the Jews in two periods—that in which the name of the Deity was some form of El or Elohim, and that in which it was Jehovah.

The first book of the Pentateuch, commonly termed Genesis, in the first place gives a cosmogony (i. to ii. 3) in which the Creator is spoken of as Elohim. It is undoubtedly superior to any other ancient cosmogony. It describes every act of creation as directly the work of Elohim, and this is the predominant note of the narrative. An orderly procession of events is traced, and identified with days which may be referred to immense periods of time, though there is no evidence that the narrative was originally understood in any sense but that of days consisting of evening and morning, or twenty-four hours. The narrative appears to imply, though it does not expressly assert, the creation of the world out of nothing, and it represents the Creator as in direct relation to His work, regarding it as "good," and "very good." Many attempts have been made in modern times to bring the statements as to the "days" of creation into connection with distinct or marked geological periods; but all these appear to fail. In the one case we have a graphic representation of the order of creation, drawn out on broad lines appreciable by mankind in an early stage of literary development, and by children and the unlearned of all ages; on the other, we

Elohism and
Jehovism
narratives.

The cos-
mogony of
Genesis.

have an attempt at inductive and detailed history. The present writer regards the attempt to draw out a detailed correspondence between the two as futile. Nor does it appear necessary that even those who regard the narrative of creation in Genesis as an inspired and infallible document should read into it all the discoveries of modern science in order to establish or confirm its value and interest. In any case, we have a grand series of pictures, ending with the creation of man, or "Adam," male and female, on the sixth day, and a conclusion which gives a foundation and sanction for the Sabbath as observed by the Jews, by attributing to the Creator "rest" on the seventh day, and the sanctification of the day. Bishop Harvey Goodwin (*Contemporary Review*, vol. 50. p. 524) argues that the week did not take its rise from the sacred history, but that the form in which the history was cast depended on the writer's knowledge of the division of time by weeks, and of the Sabbath as an institution already existing long before the time of Moses. Bishop Goodwin regards the story of creation as either a speculation, or a poetical picture, or the record of a vision accorded to some gifted seer. The narrator, requiring some framework for his vision, and knowing the division of time by weeks, naturally used it as the most appropriate.¹

In this connection we may quote Bishop Perowne's words in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" (article *Genesis*).
Bishop Perowne's view. "It is certain that the author of the first chapter of Genesis, whether Moses or some one else, knew nothing of geology or astronomy. It is certain that he made use of phrascology concerning physical facts in accordance with the limited range of

¹ Bishop Goodwin further observes that "when we speak of the 'literal interpretation' of this portion of Holy Scripture, we are using language which, when examined, has no definite meaning. The whole history of creation is necessarily supra-literal. 'The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' What *literal* meaning is there here? 'God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' How can we assign to such transcendental language any sense which can properly be called *literal*? And so on throughout the whole creative history."

information which he possessed. It is also certain that the Bible was never intended to reveal to us knowledge of which our own faculties rightly used could put us in



NOAH'S SACRIFICE.

possession. And we have no business, therefore, to expect anything but popular language in the description of

physical phenomena. Thus, for instance, when it is said that by means of the firmament God divided the waters which were above from those which were beneath, we admit the fact without admitting the implied explanation. The *Hebrew* supposed that there existed vast reservoirs above him corresponding to the 'waters under the earth.' We know that by certain natural processes the rain descends from the clouds. But the *fact* remains the same, that there are waters above as well as below." It must, however, be admitted that the extent to which modern science is consistent with the broad outlines of the picture in Genesis is remarkable.

The section Genesis ii. 4 to iii. 24 is admitted to be very distinguishable from the preceding, especially in its using the form "Jehovah or Jahveh Elohim" for the Deity twenty times. This combination is only found elsewhere in the Pentateuch in Exodus ix. 38. The name Elohim is also used three times by itself. The narrative begins by a very different and condensed account of the creation of the world and of living things, with a particularisation of man as "formed of the dust of Adamah, or the ground," whereas he is previously described as "created in His own image," and "male and female." The second account goes on to describe the primitive dwelling of man, the separate command to Adam or the Adam to refrain from eating of a particular tree, on pain of death, the naming of all cattle and fowl by Adam, the framing of a woman as his helpmeet out of his side, this being made the basis for the recognition of husband and wife as "one flesh."

It is not necessary to repeat here the story of the Fall, which has been so differently interpreted by thinkers of all ages since criticism began. Many interpret it allegorically, as signifying a deep spiritual truth, of which, however, various accounts may be given. Apart from questions of theology, it is of great interest as showing the early Hebrew mode of accounting for the presence of sin in the world. The description of the garden in Eden may be referred to some tract of Mesopotamia, from which region the ancestors of the

Israelites migrated; but it is impossible to identify with any certainty the limited tract that is meant. The narrative appears to describe the creation of animals after that of man, but it is evident that it does not attempt to give a chronological account. Altogether, the description is one showing many marks of antiquity, whether or not we suppose the name "Jahveh" to have been inserted at a later date. The conception of the Deity "walking in the garden in the cool of the day," and taking part in a series of dialogues, is an anthropomorphism which of itself indicates a state of mind which is paralleled in many primitive races, whose inward impressions are heard as outward voices, and attributed to spirits or gods. The connection of the first wearing of clothing with the first consciousness of sin, the representation of the loss of a primeval state of bliss and ease, the exclusion from the garden by cherubim and the flaming sword, the idea of a possible seizure of immortality by man,—all these denote an early stage of self-conscious reasoning upon the phenomena of life, which has been presented to us in such simplicity and charm by no other religious book. We may note that the serpent had in the East a reputation for sagacity which has not stood the test of later investigation.

Genesis iv. contains the story of Adam's family through Cain down to Lamech, with the murder of Abel by Cain, and narrates the early occupations of mankind, pastoral and agricultural, the development of the use of metal for cutting implements, and the invention of musical instruments. The two main varieties of early offerings to God are here already established, namely, "the fruit of the ground," and "the firstlings of the flock, and of the fat thereof," and the superiority of the latter is implied in their acceptance. The punishment of murder on earth by a severer sentence than death is indicated, and the power of conscience is strongly asserted. In this narrative the name Jahveh is used, and at the close, after describing the birth of Seth as the progenitor of the chosen people, we are told that "then men began to call upon the name of the Lord."

History of
Adam's
descendants.

Chapter v. is essentially a genealogical chapter, beginning with a third brief account of the creation of man. "male and female," and termed collectively "Adam." Here the name "Elohim" is used, except in ver. 29. We have in this chapter mainly that record of longevity which Owen and many other eminent zoologists and physiologists declare to be incompatible with the present physical structure of man, especially of the teeth, while no traces of men with any structure admitting of such length of days can be found. Of course, if the early calendar was reckoned on some other basis than ours, this difficulty disappears; but, humanly speaking, it is useless to look for modern scientific accuracy in a record dating from very early times; in fact, the power of using considerable numbers is a comparatively advanced achievement. These records are best looked at as representing the ancient genealogy of the Jews preserved in the most authentic form they knew about; and to attempt to reconcile them with modern views on the antiquity of man is a fruitless endeavour. We know that names were left out and genealogies drawn up in round numbers of generations by the Jews, of which there are numerous examples in the Bible. It has been suggested that the account of Enoch's translation represents an interesting stage of the mode by which heroes become deified in many countries.

In the history of Noah we come into closer contact with the traditions of other nations, and especially with the extremely interesting Chaldæan deluge story. **The Deluge.** Moral evil had risen to a great height, owing, as the early Hebrews believed, to an intermixture of the daughters of the Adam with a powerful race, the sons of Elohim, or the mighty ones, giving rise to "giants." Jahveh is represented as "repenting" of having made man, and as threatening his extinction. Noah, a righteous man, was selected to be preserved during the impending destruction, and was instructed to make a great "ark" in which he could save his family, and two of "every living thing," an expression which must be taken with obvious limitations. We need not

THE DELUGE.

follow the details of the Flood, but note that it is obviously impossible that this can have been a universal Deluge in the sense in which that term would now be



MOUNT HOREB, OF SINAI.

understood. The conception of a plain only broken by comparatively low hills, covered by water as far as the eye could see, suffices to adequately fulfil the conditions

really demanded. The "mountains of Ararat" are rendered the "mountains of Armenia" by many, and it is nowhere said that the highest mountains were meant. Noah's offering of a burnt sacrifice to God consisting of "every clean beast and every clean fowl" is of great interest as showing religious advance, and as indicating that a sort of classification of animals into clean and unclean had been made. The narrative, among other anthropomorphisms, represents the Deity as "smelling a sweet savour."

The great covenant which Noah now received and promulgated is of prime interest in whatever way it may **The covenant with Noah.** be regarded, whether as a direct Divine revelation, or as an evidence of a stage in natural religious development. A very orthodox commentator regards the covenant as expressing Noah's strong inward convictions in answer to his prayers during his sacrifice. It inspires hopefulness of future good, notwithstanding the evil so prone to arise in man's heart, and confidence in God's beneficence. It contains a sort of charter of man's supremacy on the earth and over animals, which in its broad lines is unique at such an early period. The responsibility for human life is laid down as a fundamental human obligation, resting upon man's brotherhood, and his relationship to God as being made "in His image." Noah, appalled by the late destruction, was reassured that neither men nor beasts were to be cut off by a flood in future. The rainbow was to Noah the sign of this covenant, a fact by no means implying, what so many have imagined, that the rainbow then first appeared, an idea incompatible with the laws of light. In the history of Noah, then, we trace the broad outline of the conception so much developed and filled in later in the Jewish and Christian religions, of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

The next great cosmological conception in the Book of Genesis is in the story by which the variety of languages **The confusion of tongues.** was accounted for. It is closely paralleled by some fragments of Babylonian tablets in which is described the anger of Bel at the sin of the builders

of the walls of Babylon and the mound of the tower or palace. The builders, whose attempts were directed against the gods, were confounded on the mound, as well as their speech. The winds are said to have finally destroyed the impious works. This story may very well have had its origin in the building of the great temple on the mound of Birs Nimroud or some other notable temple raised in successive stages. Primitive peoples regarded such huge enterprises as impiety against the gods, much as the originators of railways were denominated impious. The divergence of language between people a few miles apart, which must have been far more marked then than in modern civilised countries, was similarly considered an act of vengeance directly due to the gods. In Genesis, to quote another orthodox divine, Dr. Payne Smith, "Jehovah is described as a mighty king, who, hearing in his upper and heavenly dwelling of man's ambitious purpose, determines to go and inspect the work in person, that having seen, he may deal with the offenders justly." And in order to defeat men's unlimited ambition, diversity of speech was brought about, so that men were not intelligible to one another.

The history of Israel now properly begins with the narrative of the life of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the three great ancestral patriarchs of the Jewish ^{The patriarchs} people. Some scholars, who cannot believe that ^{of Israel.} any ancient narrative at all closely corresponds with fact, have imagined these to be mythical beings, and have given fanciful interpretations of their biographies. But the sober style of the narrative lends little countenance to such ideas, while much confirmatory evidence from language, antiquities, geography, etc., gives support to the belief that we have here the most authentic early biographical records which have come down to us, although it cannot be expected that they have been transmitted with perfect accuracy in all details. Leaving questions of general criticism aside, we will trace the conception of the Divine power and of religion which the narratives convey. Abraham's migration from Mesopotamia is undertaken by Divine command, and is inspired

by a great hope of founding a nation which shall become **Abraham's** a blessing to all the earth. At Sichem, in the **migration** centre of Canaan, it was shown to him that his seed would possess the land; and he built an altar to Jehovah, "who appeared unto him." It is impossible to settle in what form the Divine manifestations to Abraham may have been made; it is equally impossible to doubt that the narrative represents a genuine belief **His worship** in their reality. Abraham built altars to God **of God.** in various places afterwards historically famous as places of worship; and on one occasion is represented as signalising a covenant with God by dividing a heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, into halves, a ceremonial implying the most solemn ratification. Abraham on this occasion begged for a confirmation of his having an heir born to him in his old age. In a deep sleep following his watch over the exposed animals, Abraham saw a symbol of fire pass between the divided halves, and received a promise of the future greatness of his posterity, in connection with which is narrated a prediction of their servitude "in a land that is not theirs."

An interesting episode in Abraham's life, showing that he did not feel himself cut off from the local worship of **Abraham and El** under different names, is his conduct after **Melchizedek** his return from the slaughter of the confederates of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Abraham received a blessing and gave a proportion of his booty to Melchizedek, whose title King of Salem (Melek-Salem) is by some understood to mean "King of Peace," as his first name Melchizedek means King of Righteousness. It is impossible to be certain that by Salem the site of Jerusalem was signified. Whatever his local habitation, Melchizedek officiated as priest of El-Elion, "God most high," and represented El-Elion as having delivered Abraham's enemies into his hand. Abraham, according to the narrative, identified the God he worshipped with the God of Melchizedek, and here again rose beyond conceptions of local or tribal gods towards that of a Supreme and Universal Deity.

All through the narrative of Abraham we have records

describing familiar intercourse between the Deity and



MOSES AND AARON BEFORE PHARAOH.

Abraham, whether by undefined "appearances," by the in-

tervention of "the angel of the Lord," or of human figures.

Divine appearances. Thus we see how deep-seated was the belief in direct Divine intervention and appearances in the time from which these records date. In the Elohist narrative of Genesis xvii., which gives the ancient authorisation for the circumcision of the Hebrew males, we find the name El Shaddai, El All-Powerful or Almighty, applied to God. There is evidence that circumcision was known and practised by other nations long before this; but its adoption by Abraham was an important epoch in the development of the Jewish religion. The idea of the Almighty as coming down from His high enthronement above the earth is still prominent, as in the phrase, "He went up from Abraham." The birth of Isaac is promised expressly, as the heir of the covenant made with Abraham.

The position of Abraham at the head of the Jewish religion and in the regard of Christians is assured. To **Abraham's character.** quote Dean Stanley ("Jewish Church," i. 16): "It is true that Abraham hardly appears before us as a prophet or teacher of any new religion. As the Scripture represents him, it is rather as if he was possessed of the truth himself, than as if he had any call to proclaim it to others. . . . He was the first distinct historical witness, at least for his own race and country, to Theism, to Monotheism, to the Unity of the Lord and Ruler of all, against the primeval idolatries, the natural religion of the ancient world." No doubt he is the first great exemplification of that which henceforth distinguished higher from lower religions, faith in the Supreme Being and in ultimate good, first for himself and his descendants, and secondarily for all mankind.

Sacrifice of Isaac. His intended sacrifice of Isaac,—related probably to the frequent Canaanitish immolations of the eldest son,—is explicable by his intense belief that the command came from God; and viewed in this light it highly strained his belief that Isaac was the divinely given heir of the future of his race. One commentator puts it thus, in reference to the Canaanitish practice: "The question might easily arise within, 'Wouldst thou

be able to do the like to please thy God?" The substitution of a ram for Isaac was of fundamental importance in establishing the antiquity of the later Jewish sin-offering, and the sanctity of Mount Moriah, the subsequent site of the Jewish temple. Moral strength, mixed with some moral weakness, first rises to distinct portraiture in Abraham, whose character, clearly related to features still familiar in Semitic life, has become almost equally precious to Mohammedans and Christians. His date, somewhere before or after 2000 B.C., we cannot attempt to settle.

In the history of Jacob we find a development of the personal aspect of belief. Special Providence watches over his conduct, appears to favour his designs, and by the stress of events drives him into a more upright path than he had at first sought. The belief in the validity and value of patriarchal blessings is clearly evidenced in both Isaac's and Jacob's dying blessings. We note, too, that it comes upon Jacob as a surprise when he becomes convinced at Bethel that it too, "far from the holy places of his family, is a place of Jahveh's gracious presence," whereupon he raises a stone, after the manner of the Phœnicians and other surrounding peoples, as a memorial, and pours oil upon it, naming it Beth-el, the house of God, long afterwards famous as a place of sacrifice and a sanctuary. We note, also, the continued use of household images, whether mere images of guardian spirits or of ancestors, in Laban's family, and believed to ensure, or be essential to, the good fortune of the household.

Of great significance in the history of Jacob is the development of prayer, in reliance upon what he believes to be the promises of God; although prayer is still mainly, if not entirely, for temporal benefits. The memorable "wrestling" of Jacob, whatever it may mean physically, has become the type and model of innumerable spiritual struggles, and indicates changes in moral character as the product of earnest resolution. In the view of very many, it stands as a conspicuous

memorial of man's elevation by struggle and resolve, ever blessed by the Supreme Power. To Jacob the struggle was a Divine revelation: "I have seen Elohim face to face, and my life was preserved." The personal guidance of God is again brought into view in the later scene, when Jacob goes to Egypt by the command of God, received in the visions of the night—an example of the powerful influence allowed to dreams and visions in those times.

In all this patriarchal period polygamy is nowhere condemned, and is frequently practised; deceit is allowed towards enemies, and even towards hosts, and, **Patriarchal moral character.** with various questionings, towards members of the same household; morals had as yet become comparatively little developed as a corollary of religious belief. We have no account of Divine worship, except as associated with special occasions. The outlines of the patriarchs are very differently drawn from those of the heroes and demigods of most other religions. No perfection is attributed to them. They fall again and again into error and evil-doing; yet they rise by exhibiting a faith in the Divine superior to that of their neighbours, and by obeying inward monitions more than others did. They are in no sense raised beyond humanity; they are distinctly human all through; and thus their histories, though probably intermixed with later traditions and edited to an unascertainable extent, contain highly credible and valuable accounts of primitive life and of the rise of religious belief.

Now comes the important period of the Israelitish sojourn in Egypt, which must have had considerable effect on the religious development of the people. Yet we hear little of it till the great uprising which led to the Exodus.

Meanwhile the death-bed of Jacob is the occasion for the delivery of characteristic blessings, often prophetic **Jacob's dying blessings.** in their character. One clause, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be," has especial significance in the history of the Christian Church, as indi-



THE PASSOVER IN EGYPT

cating the person and rule of Christ. Some modern critics translate one phrase, "until he come to Shiloh," in Ephraim, where the ark of the covenant was at one time. Many read "Sheloh," instead of Shiloh, meaning "he whose it is," or "whose right it is." The fact that the Jews themselves interpret the passage as a Messianic prophecy is of moment; and whether the prophecy assumed its present form comparatively later or earlier, it no doubt existed long before the time of Christ.

The residence of the Israelites in Egypt must be esteemed of the highest importance to their religious development, both for what it taught them to dislike and for what it led them to appreciate and adopt. An enormous gulf separates the primitive patriarchal religion, with its open-air altars, its rare sacrifices, its memorial stones, and its sacred trees, from the elaborate priestly religion which grew up on the foundation of Moses. Although it is not expressly stated in the Pentateuch, we find from Joshua xxiv. and Ezekiel xx. that the Hebrews to a considerable extent served the gods of Egypt, and lapsed from the purity of the patriarchal faith. Again and again, in their wilderness-sojourn and in later times, are Egyptian lapses, Egyptian longings made a subject of reproach to them. Accustomed to the worship of the black calf at the Temple of the Sun in On (Heliopolis), and to that of other idols and deified animals, not all the sanction of the Second Commandment nor all the influence of their loftiest leaders could keep them from frequent outbreaks of worship more or less idolatrous; and the symbolism of the Ark of the Covenant, borrowed very closely from Egyptian models, was required to give them a centre for their adoration, to satisfy the cravings excited by their Egyptian experiences. On the other hand, the absolute power of the king, and the divine worship which was paid to him, may surely be credited with some part in that reaction which kept the Israelites, though numerous and powerful, so long without a king. Having suffered the extremes of pain and misery at the hands of a god-king, they can scarcely brook for the length of a short

war the absolute rule of a military leader; and when at length they submitted to a king, they were far from worshipping him.

Again, the education of Moses, as a priest, "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," in itself implies a mighty Egyptian influence upon the Israelites. The foremost intellectual man among them found his force tenfold intensified by his culture. We can imagine him keenly surveying the varied observances and criticising the lore of the initiated priests of Egypt, and selecting from them those parts which seemed conducive to the welfare of the people, and waiting his time to adopt or enforce them in legislation. Their medical knowledge he absorbed and utilised largely in his domestic and sanitary regulations. And since he had no king in his scheme, his priestly class had the more opportunity of enforcing his ordinances and of obtaining the means of support, since there was none of that heavy levy of taxes and forced labour which made life a burden in Egypt. Yet that Moses found much to object to, much to discard in Egyptian religion, is evident from the fewness, on the whole, of the points of agreement between it and the Jewish religion.

But it was not only the education of Moses in the wisdom of the Egyptians, but also his long isolation and solitary thought in Midian, after his relinquishment of all his Egyptian privileges, that must have matured his intellect and developed his moral courage. It was not an unprepared soul that received the heavenly mission to redeem his people, yet it was one schooled to modest self-depreciation, and capable of a forcible estimate of the difficulties in his way. We need only imagine these latter, to realise how strong must have been the evidence and conviction upon which Moses took up his mission; and it is only natural that this should be accompanied by a deeper insight into the Divine nature which could carry him through countless dangers and human impossibilities. The expression, "I am that I am," otherwise rendered, "I am because I am," "I am Who am," "I will be that I will

**Education
of Moses.**

**His long
residence
in Midian.**

**The Divine
commission.**

he," gives a view of the Self-existence, the Uncaused Nature of the Supreme Being, which no previous statement about the Divine nature had done; and whatever view be taken of the miraculous, it is at least certain that the Jews profoundly believed in the miraculous signs granted to Moses in proof of his Divine mission, and in the miraculous nature of the plagues which afterwards came upon the Egyptians. The narrative of Moses's commission is the type of that conviction of Divine support and authorisation which most great religious reformers have felt intensely.

We pass over the actual Exodus as not directly concerned in our object, merely noting that the plagues of **The plagues of Egypt.** Egypt need not be deemed the less imposing or effectual because they proceeded by means the most natural and the most appropriate in Egypt. The miraculous of one age may appear the natural to another age, which may possibly discern orderly causes for that which formerly terrified a people or authenticated a mission. To many who view all events, all causes as equally the work of the Supreme Being, it is nowadays comparatively unimportant to attempt to closely distinguish between miraculous and non-miraculous, supernatural and natural; but that in past times enormous effects were produced by events deemed miraculous, superhuman, supernatural, cannot in the least be doubted; and that many such events occurred, striking terror or producing conviction, convincing the senses or the mind in ways not to be upset, is equally certain. Thus, even though the crossing of the Red Sea has recently been explained in a most plausible manner as a thoroughly natural occurrence, its effect in the great chain of events culminating in the destruction of the Egyptian army, was not the less striking in fact, and was handed down as a miraculous interposition of Jehovah. And without taking up any dogmatic position, we may be permitted to say, that for human beings, with all their imperfections of power and discernment, to deny that "miracles" have occurred, or the possibility of miracles, is to take up a position of

**Passage
of the
Red Sea.**

superiority in relation to natural phenomena and causation, and of over-confidence in present knowledge, which is little warranted by past experience of changes of thought and advances in knowledge.

Apart from the customs or systems which welded the Israelites into a nation, we have to seek the most important religious phenomena in the history of Moses. The first place undoubtedly belongs to the Decalogue, and its promulgation and enforcement ^{The} Decalogue. as a direct Divine revelation. Moses gave the Israelites a series of positive precepts, the "Ten Words," which have kept their place at the head of legislation, and have influenced a large part of the world's population. They have been recognised as right by the higher conscience of the most diverse peoples, and including as they do the monotheistic doctrine which had previously been known, they constitute the greatest contribution to practical morality, apart from Christianity. Perhaps in their original form the longer commandments did not contain the explanatory clauses, as is indicated by divergences in the versions we have; but we still, to a large extent, fall behind the theology and the morality they enshrine, and thus we are still living in the period of the Decalogue. Till monotheism is universal, the first commandment has its mission; till images and representations which may be worshipped cease to be bowed down to or worshipped, the non-Christian world falls below the Mosaic standard, and such Christian Churches as permit this are behind the Jews; till irreverent or blasphemous employment of the Divine name is no more heard, the third commandment speaks unavailingly to deaf ears. The fourth commandment, like the second, has been exchanged more or less by Christian Churches for another, and is but rarely observed as the Mosaic code intended. The fifth commandment might have been given to the Chinese, for they observed it long before Moses gave it; but its spirit is not quite in keeping with modern democracy, which reads it with qualifications. The precepts of social morality which follow might be justly alleged as condemning vast numbers of professing Christians and

Christian States; and breaches of them have too often been condoned by Jesuits and others who consider that the end justifies the means; but no man can truly say that the Decalogue is outworn or dethroned. The progress of mankind since its promulgation has been towards its realisation, especially as interpreted by the simpler and wider commands of Jesus. Simple, pure worship of one God, family order, justice and self-restraint between man and man, with a weekly rest-day, are the elements powerfully set forth in the Decalogue, which, from the human point of view, forms a work of genius of the highest order. Because of beliefs in the Divine truth and communication of the precepts, the merit of Moses, viewed as a man, must not be lessened; the Divine message or inspiration came to him, and he did not reject it, but boldly promulgated it in the most powerful way possible to him. His genius as a legislator must be based on the Ten Commandments, as well as on his other achievements; if we regard him as a mere channel for Divine communications, he becomes no more than a medium.

It may be noted that the Commandments do not in any way favour breaches of morality towards persons of other tribes, which were so common among early peoples. On the other hand, polygamy is not forbidden. The reason for the institution of the Sabbath is, in one place, the Creator's rest on the seventh day, and in another, "that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou." The deliverance of Israel from Egyptian servitude is further given as an incentive to keep the Sabbath.

Without attempting a complete characterisation of Moses, we may assign to him a position, as a religious leader and originator, above that of any man we have previously described. He practically created a nation out of an enslaved people, and he did it not merely by

Character of Moses. adequate government, a task which he found difficult enough many times in his career, but most of all by the elevated conception of the Divine nature which he promulgated, and his strong faith in his Divine mission and in the personal guidance and direction

which he received from God. From him was derived, in its essence at least, that sublime conception of a people ruled directly by God, which in its developed form constitutes the grandest ideal of human life; for what conception can be more perfect than that of a race knowing the laws of its Creator and voluntarily obeying them?

As an example of triumph over natural infirmity—timidity, unreadiness, want of eloquence, hesitation—Moses is not less conspicuous than as a man of true self-effacement, only brought to act prominently and individually by Divine impulse and command. With all that has been said as to the genius of Moses, we must couple the narratives of Divine visions and communica- **His Divine visions.** tions to him, which no one is entitled to summarily reject as fabrications. Doubt is of course justifiable wherever narratives can be proved to have been written long after the events described; and here is the crucial point of criticism. It may be pointed out, as regards visions and other communications, that almost all great teachers and spiritual reformers have had them, and in circumstances which throw no doubt upon their veracity and their belief in their reality. Of all men up to his time Moses may be regarded as the man who came into closest relation with the Divine; and if this be granted, modes of appearance, whether sub- **Revelations to Moses.** jective or objective, are less important than the truths revealed. Who, for instance, that feels the higher truths can fail to appreciate the teaching, "Thou canst not see My face; for there shall no man see My face and live," or the inspiration which gives rise to the magnificent declaration of Exodus xxxiv. 6, 7, respecting the Name, the Essential Essence of Jehovah, "merciful and gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty." Contemplating the descriptions of such revelations, we cannot wonder at the consensus of earnest theologians longing to be "with Moses on the mount."

What, then, are we to think of the remarkable absence of direct teaching by Moses on the subject of immortality

and a future state of rewards and punishments? This has been a subject of abundant discussion and speculation. Are we to consider that because the Egyptians held strongly the belief in immortality, and detailed the stages of the future state, therefore Moses must be understood as consenting to their beliefs, and tacitly assuming them? Or are we to regard him as to some extent a sceptic on that question? The inference has been drawn from the frequent use of the phrases, "went to his fathers," "was gathered to his people," etc., that they imply a belief in the continued existence of the fathers, and this does not seem an unreasonable supposition: but its precise value cannot be ascertained. It is probable that the Israelites, surrounded and influenced by nations who believed in a future state, did not dissent from the prevailing view, or else we should have had it markedly expressed. But Moses was concerned especially to exalt the view of Jehovah as a personal Guide and Ruler in this life: and this may be the reason why the future was not dwelt upon, though it would be too much to deny positively that it is implied in numerous phrases.

As a prophet, Moses's position is assured by the numerous Divine revelations he was commissioned to make, by his authorship—more or less—of sacred books, by his Law, and by his addresses, which, if authentic, often refer to what will come to pass in a future time in the land of Canaan. We may wonder that Moses was never deified by his countrymen; this fact in itself proves that his teaching about the one God, and the mode in which He must be served, had a powerful effect, and prevented the tendencies that were so strong in Egypt from having their natural effect in relation to him.

[Among works of importance on this subject see Ewald's "History and Antiquities of Israel," Stanley's "Lectures on the Jewish Church," and the various Commentaries and Bible Dictionaries; Robertson Smith's "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," and the articles "Pentateuch" and "Israel" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition]





CHAPTER II.

The Jewish Religion : Legislation, Festivals, Morals.

Altars and offerings—The Ark of the Covenant—The Tabernacle—Development of the Law—Modern criticism—Various offerings—The trespass offering—The Day of Atonement—The scapegoat—Meaning of Day of Atonement—The Shechinah—The Sabbath—Origin of the Synagogue—Officials of Synagogue—Order of service—The seventh month—The Sabbath year—The year of Jubilee—The Passover—Passover in later times—Pentecost—Feast of Tabernacles—Feast of Trumpets—Prayer and forms of worship—Vows—Fasting—Nazarites and Rechabites—Consecration of the whole people to Jehovah—Clean and unclean animals—Means of purification—Burial—Marriage limits—Nature the property of Jehovah—Blood-revenge—Cities of refuge—"An eye for an eye"—Usury—Slaves—Treatment of strangers—Parents and children—Wives and concubines—General moral condition of Israel.

ONE conspicuous peculiarity of Moses's earlier religious teaching is, that religion is not made to consist in so many offerings, in formal ceremonies, but in simple worship and reverence to God, and obedience to moral precepts. Yet, to satisfy the spirit of worship, altars of earth or of unhewn stone were allowed, for burnt offerings and peace offerings. The phrase in Exodus xxii. 29, "the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto Me," is understood by some as indicating that human sacrifices were still allowed to exist, while the majority interpret it as meaning simply a dedication to Jehovah, to be redeemed by an offering. In this way Moses may be considered as adopting current forms, and giving to them a pure character.

It is impossible here to discuss the complex questions which arise through all attempts, such as those of Kuenen,

to trace the Jewish religion as a growth through centuries, and to assign to their respective periods beliefs and observances which are considered not to have their origin from Moses. In any case the institution of the Ark of the Covenant, as well as the Tabernacle, must be referred to Moses, with the foundation of the priestly code, and of the laws of ceremonial and of practical conduct.

The Ark of the Covenant, which had a marked resemblance to arks carried in Egyptian religious processions,

The Ark of the Covenant. was an oblong chest of acacia-wood, nearly four feet long, by two and a half broad and deep. It was overlaid with gold both inside and outside, and on its lid was the mercy-seat, or place of Divine communication to Moses, and to the high priest after him. At each end was a golden figure termed a cherub, a compound creature-form with wings extended upwards and faces directed "towards one another, and towards the mercy-seat"; and here ends our knowledge of the nature of this symbol. Whether it had any relation to any one of the numerous symbolic animal-figures of the other Semitic peoples and the Egyptians we cannot tell. The importance of the ark lay in two features: one, that it contained the two tables of stone on which Moses had written the Ten Words; the other was expressed in relation to the region above the mercy-seat, that there Jehovah would meet with Moses, and commune with him. The ark was provided with rings at the corners, through which were passed staves of acacia-wood overlaid with gold, by which certain Levites carried it when it was moved from place to place. Thus the Israelites were furnished with a symbol of the Divine presence, satisfying that demand of human nature which has been exemplified in so many nations and ages, yet never seen except by the high priest.

This ark formed the central or most important object in the Tabernacle, which was erected as the representative

The Tabernacle. of a temple. It was forty-five feet long by fifteen broad, open at the end intended to be pitched eastward, as if towards the rising sun, and divided into two parts, the inner, or Holy of Holies, into which

the priest alone entered rarely, divided by pillars and curtains from the larger Holy Place, containing a golden candlestick with seven branches, a small lamp being placed on the end of each, an altar for the burning of incense, and a table overlaid with gold, on which twelve newly baked loaves were placed every Sabbath, sprinkled with incense, remaining till the following Sabbath, when they were eaten by the priests in the Holy Place. Whether it was thus offered weekly as a symbol of the derivation of bodily nourishment from God. or whether it had other meanings, is undecided. The strict meaning of shewbread is "bread of the faces," and the table is called the "table of the faces." Outside the tabernacle proper was a great oblong court enclosed by screens, in the western half of which was the tabernacle, while in the eastern half was the altar of acacia-wood, overlaid with brass, for burnt offerings, furnished with pans and other utensils, and having four projections or horns at the corners; and between this and the tabernacle was a laver, a vessel in which the priests washed their hands and feet before entering the tabernacle.

Those critics who have separated the narratives in the Pentateuch into component portions regard the tabernacle which Moses erected as a much simpler structure (Exodus xxxiii. 7-11) than the elaborate tabernacle described, as they assert, by the priestly narrator after the exile of the Jews. They claim also that it was devised as a means of giving an ancient sanction to the elaborate ritual of the second temple. According to this view, the simple form of tabernacle continued in use during the migrations of the ark until the building of Solomon's temple; but there is no proof of this.

Without attempting to determine, where the most learned disagree, the precise steps by which the Mosaic code of laws grew to its full development, we ~~Development~~ may yet note the very general agreement or of the Law. admission that it did actually develop, even in the view of the narrative as it stands, and that there is a great difference between its presentation in the book of Deuteronomy and in previous books. Again and again we learn

how certain regulations originated from particular occasions. While there are various discrepancies between Deuteronomy and the earlier books, as well as important additions in the former—especially noteworthy being the command to worship God and make all offerings at one particular place—there are numerous references to Egypt and Egyptian customs which Moses would be the most competent and likely to make, and we have direct assertions that Moses wrote it. Yet there is no reference to the *Book of the Law* in the books of Judges and Samuel. In the books of the Kings it comes into prominence, and is very plainly described in Ezra and Nehemiah. The difference of style between Deuteronomy and other parts of the Pentateuch is a difficulty for those who regard all as the work of Moses; but it is not insuperable if a thorough revision and incorporation of other traditions by a writer in the times of the Kings or of Ezra be allowed.

From the time of Ezra, undoubtedly, the Jews possessed the complete Pentateuch very much as we have it, and **Modern criticism** they believed that it had existed from the first in that form. But it is held by many modern writers that various records in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as well as in the Pentateuch itself, are incompatible with the complete early promulgation of the contents of the Pentateuch. The Israelites either disobeyed the extended law, or did not know of it. Especially was this the case in regard to the worship of Jehovah at local sanctuaries and high places, instead of at the one central place, the existence of images in the worship of Jehovah, and the admission of other gods as at least worthy of toleration, though secondary. That which defenders of the traditional view regard as simply the measure of the defection and degeneration of the Israelites from the truth, modern critics regard as proving that the fully detailed law of the Pentateuch had not yet been promulgated, that not taking place till the times of Josiah and of Ezra. They in fact say that the Levitical Law continued the work of the earlier prophets, and was in large part unknown to the prophets. No doubt, they say, when made known to Ezra, it professed to be the

Law of Moses; but this is explained as referring to its embodying the kernel of Mosaic legislation, with old priestly decisions handed down in their families, having been given or arrived at as necessity arose.¹

¹ It will be convenient to give here separately Prof. Robertson Smith's grouping of the laws in the Pentateuch, in his "Old Testament in the Jewish Church." There is (1) Exod. xxi. to xxiii., directly connected with the revelation of the Ten Commandments, "containing a very simple system of civil and religious polity, adequate to the wants of a primitive agricultural people:" the title being, "These are the judgments which thou shalt set before them." (2) Deuteronomy: the laws proper, beginning at chap. xii. 1, "These are the statutes and judgments which ye shall observe to do," ending at xxvi. 19; this is described as an independent reproduction of the substance of (1), with extensions and modifications. (3) The Levitical legislation, or priestly code, scattered through Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but capable of removal without making the rest unintelligible. This includes the fully developed ritual for sanctuary, priesthood, sacrifices, etc. "The form is historical, but the essential object is legal. The law takes the form of recorded precedent" in great part. This view assigns the first to Moses, with additions by priestly decisions: the second (it is said) was first made known as the starting-point of Josiah's reformation, abolishing all local sanctuaries; and this reformation and the authority gained by Deuteronomy were based on the teaching of Isaiah and other prophets, who had so loudly called for religious reform and amendment.

Prof. Robertson Smith and others see in Ezekiel's scheme of worship (ch. xl.-xlviii.) the basis on which the Levitical law was fully developed; and this is alleged to be confirmed by Jeremiah, who knew no law of sacrifices. In Ezekiel's scheme the Levites, who had lent themselves to idolatrous practices, are lowered in functions. Regular sacrifices are provided for by the prince out of the fixed tribute received by him. The sin-offering and ritual of atonement are made prominent, the altar requiring to be purged with sin-offerings for seven consecutive days before burnt-offerings can be properly offered on it. Ezekiel also appoints two great atoning services yearly, at the beginning of the first and the seventh months, to purge the temple; and this is alleged to be the first appearance, outside the Levitical code, of anything corresponding to the great Day of Atonement, and Ezekiel's service falls short of its solemnities. This is regarded as a first sketch of the priestly Torah or law, resting on old priestly usage, and reshaped so as to bring it into conformity with the ideas of the holiness of Jehovah expressed by the earlier prophets and by Deuteronomy.

"In proportion as the whole theory of worship is remodelled and reduced to rule on the scheme of an exclusive sanctity, which

Coming now to the main features of the law as affecting religion and morals, burnt-offerings formed a prominent **Various offerings.** feature of the worship. Morning and evening a lamb was offered, with wine, oil, and flour; and in addition males of the herds and flocks, or turtle doves or pigeons, were offered voluntarily as general

presents, so to speak, an armed front to every abomination of impure heathenism, the ritual becomes abstract, and the services remote from ordinary life. In the old worship all was spontaneous. To worship God was a holiday, an occasion of feasting. Religion, in its sacrificial form, was a part of common life, which no one deemed it necessary to reduce to rule. Even in Deuteronomy this view predominates. The sacrificial feasts are still the consecration of natural occasions of joy: men eat, drink, and make merry before God. The sense of God's favour, not the sense of sin, is what rules at the sanctuary. But the unification of the sanctuary already tended to break up this old type of religion. Worship ceased to be an everyday thing, and so it ceased to be the expression of every-day religion. In Ezekiel this change has produced its natural result in a change of the whole standpoint from which he views the service of the Temple. . . . The individual Israelite, who, in the old law, stood at the altar himself, and brought his own victim, is now separated from it, not only by the double cordon of priests and Levites, but by the fact that his personal offering is thrown into the background by the stated national sacrifice. . . . In Ezekiel, and still more in the Levitical legislation, the element of atonement takes a foremost place. The sense of sin had grown deeper under the teaching of the prophets; and amidst the proofs of Jehovah's anger that darkened the last days of the Jewish State, sin and forgiveness were the main themes of prophetic discourse. . . . Now, more than in any former time, the first point in acceptance was felt to be the forgiveness of sin; and the weightiest element in the ritual was that which symbolised the atonement, or 'wiping out,' of iniquity. The details of this symbolism cannot occupy us here. It is enough to indicate in one word that the ritual of atoning sacrifice was so shaped by Divine wisdom that it supplied to the New Testament a basis intelligible to the Hebrew believers for the explanation of the atoning work of Christ. Not, indeed, that the blood of bulls and goats ever took away sin. The true basis of forgiveness, in the Old Testament as in the New, lies, not in man's offering, but in a work of sovereign love. It is Jehovah, for His own Name's sake, who blots out Israel's transgressions, and will not remember his sin. But the atoning ritual ever held before the people's eyes the mysterious connection of forgiving love with awful justice, and pointed by its very inadequacy to the need for a better atonement of Jehovah's own providing."—*Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 379-382.

atonements. The whole of these offerings was burnt, and the fire on the altar was never to go out. Next in order among usual offerings was the meat-offering, meat referring here to natural produce of the earth, such as unleavened flour, or cakes, oil, and frankincense, of which only part was burnt, the rest being given to the priests. The next and less frequent offering was termed a peace-offering, being either given as a thanksgiving, in fulfilment of a vow, or as a voluntary offering. It consisted of the fat of one of the herd or the flocks, the remainder (excluding the blood) being eaten by the offerer.

The sin or trespass-offering had a more special importance, but was made at any period, for sins of ignorance, vows unwittingly broken, or for ceremonial im-
 The trespass offering.
 purity, or for wilful sins, such as concealment of truth, lying, false swearing, etc. In this case confession had to be made, and various offerings, including money, might be accepted, according to the ability of the penitent; part was burnt, and the remainder belonged to the priests.

There were other special sacrifices, but that on the great Day of Atonement, once a year, on the tenth day of the seventh month, was the most important,
 The Day of Atonement.
 constituting as it did an annual atonement for all the sins of the people, made on a special day of fasting and affliction of soul. On this day only the high-priest, purified and dressed in white garments, might enter the inner sanctum, the Holy of Holies. Besides making offerings on his own and his family's account, he bought two goats on account of the people, and presented them at the door of the tabernacle. He then cast lots upon them, one for Jehovah, the other for Azazel, or, as it is usually translated, the scapegoat. The meaning
 The scapegoat.
 of the latter name cannot be settled, many imagining it to represent some spirit antagonistic to Jehovah. The goat on which Jehovah's lot fell was offered as a sin-offering; the other was "presented alive before the Lord, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scapegoat (Azazel) into the wilderness." The bullock offered for himself and his family having been sacrificed, the high-priest took some of its blood,

with a censer of burning embers and a handful of incense, and went into the Holy of Holies. Then, casting the incense upon the embers, he raised a cloud before the mercy-seat, and dipping his finger into the blood, sprinkled it seven times before the mercy-seat. A similar ceremony afterwards took place with the blood of the slain goat. A further sprinkling of blood took place in the outer sanctum, or Holy Place, some of the blood of both victims being sprinkled on the altar of incense. Similarly the outer altar in the enclosure was sprinkled, especially the horns of the altar. The whole tabernacle being thus purified, the live goat was brought, and the high-priest laid both his hands on its head and confessed over it "all the iniquities of the children of Israel, putting them upon the head of the goat"; and finally the goat was sent away, in charge of a suitable man, into the wilderness, that he might carry away all their sins "into a land not inhabited." After bathing, the high-priest offered the two rams, one for himself and one for the people, as burnt-offerings. The fat of the sin-offerings was also burnt, and their flesh was carried away and burned outside the camp. The traditional form of the prayer offered by the high-priest over the head of the goat is thus given in the later treatise of the Mishna, entitled Yoma: "O Lord, the house of Israel, Thy people, have trespassed, rebelled, and sinned before Thee. I beseech Thee, O Lord, forgive now their trespasses, rebellions, and sins, which Thy people have committed, as it is written in the Law of Moses Thy servant, saying that in that day there shall be 'an atonement for you to cleanse you, that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord.'"

The remarkable significance of this Day of Atonement is evident. In addition to continual expiations of known sins by individuals, together with various voluntary offerings, the whole nation is considered to need confession of sin, atonement, and purification before Jehovah; and the high-priest, as representing the nation, makes atonement, and purifies the sanctuary and the people. The offering of goats and other animal offerings is probably connected historically,

**Meaning of
Day of
Atonement.**



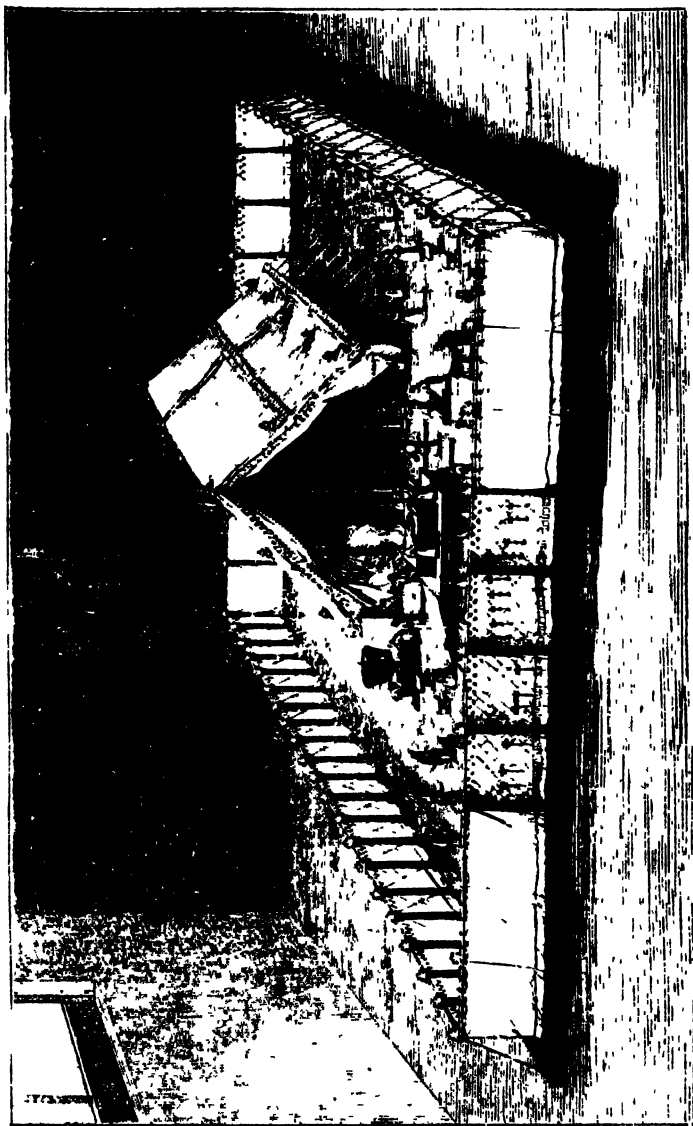
though perhaps unconsciously, with the offering of human sacrifices by nations around, and with Abraham's offering of Isaac, and with the idea of substitution of animals for human victims. In any case, such is the natural interpretation of the laying of the hands on the head of the victim while making confession. But we cannot yet, with certainty, explain why there were two goats, and the sending forth of one into the wilderness; for it, like the other, formed part of the sin-offering to Jehovah. Many consider that it was sent into the wilderness to signify the carrying of the sins of the people out of the presence of Jehovah. In any case, we may find in the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement the most impressive of the many solemnities we have hitherto surveyed.

Here we may fittingly refer to those visible manifestations in which Jehovah is recorded to have appeared to His people or His priests, often referred to by ^{The} the name Shechinah (majesty or presence of ^{Shechinah} God), which word, however, is not found in Scripture, and is first found in the Targums, or Jewish Commentaries. It expresses the visible presence of God as dwelling among His people, said to be lacking in Zerubbabel's temple, while pertaining to that of Solomon, and to the tabernacle. The appearance was described as a brilliant light enveloped in a cloud, which alone was for the most part visible. The "glory of the Lord" is stated to have rested upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days; and on the seventh day, "the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel." When the tabernacle was finished, a cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle, so that Moses was not able to enter it. On occasions when he did enter it, the cloud descended to the door of the tabernacle, and "the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend." In Numbers vii. 89 we read that "when Moses went into the tent of meeting to speak with Him, then he heard the Voice speaking to him from above the mercy-seat."

After the Day of Atonement, the two most peculiar

observances of the Israelites were the weekly Sabbath and the annual Passover. The Sabbath was no doubt related to a very general Oriental practice, as old as Vedism and Zoroastrianism, and very early in use among the Semites, of arranging their religious festivals or meetings in accordance with the four quarters of the moon. Abstinence from work was its chief characteristic among the early Israelites. This became a grievous burden; no fire might be lighted on the Sabbath, and it is related that a man was once stoned to death for gathering sticks on that day. Although, in the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Nehemiah, we read of various infractions of the Sabbath having become frequent, the general practice of the Jews was to obey the law strictly: and in the time of Mattathias (B.C. 168), even fighting in self-defence was abstained from, with disastrous results, until he asserted its lawfulness. The minuteness with which the Pharisees and the Rabbinical schools regulated Sabbath observances in the time of Christ is well known, as well as the resistance which He offered to this. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that no regulations for its observance were given in the writings of the apostles, and that Sabbath-breaking is never denounced by them. The orthodox Jews still maintain the Sabbath of the seventh day, beginning on Friday at sunset and ending with the next sunset.

Regular Sabbath services, such as those of the synagogue, did not arise in Mosaic times, nor indeed till after the return of the Jews from Babylon. The morning and evening sacrifices by the priests were doubled on the Sabbath, and there are grounds for believing that the well-to-do feasted on sacrificial meat on that day. In Isaiah lviii. 13, 14, it is indicated that the Sabbath should be called a delight, and should be honoured by "not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words." The synagogue services may well have arisen as an elevating influence, in reaction from the debased character of the meetings and local observances at a distance from the great religious centre, of which the magnificent ephod made by Gideon, the



THE TABERNACLE RESTORED.

graven and the molten images and the teraphim of Micah, were some of the apparatus, while groves and **origin of the** high-places were some of the scenes. Although **synagogue.** the prophets and prophetic schools appear to have met for sacrifice and praise on fixed days, it is probable that the Babylonish captivity, with its isolation emphasising the need of frequent meetings for mutual comfort and worship, witnessed the true origin of synagogue worship, which after the return played an important part in preserving the Jews as a peculiar people. After the Maccabæan uprising, the establishment of local synagogues spread, until almost every town had one or more synagogues. Inasmuch as it was apart from the temple service, and did not essentially depend on the priests, the synagogue tended to establish a freer atmosphere of study and criticism, and it is significant that the first teaching of Jesus took place in country synagogues, where He met with far less opposition than He immediately received when He taught in the Temple precincts.

The synagogue, of varying size, stood if possible on the highest ground in or near the town, and was so arranged that worshippers on entering, and in prayer, faced towards Jerusalem. At its Jerusalem end was placed an ark or chest containing the roll of the Law of Moses, and near this were the chief seats, for which the scribes and Pharisees competed. A lamp perpetually burned near it, while other lamps were brought by worshippers for the Sabbath; the special seven-branched candlestick was only lighted up on the great festivals. Near the middle of the building was a platform, on the middle of which stood a pulpit. The mass of the people sat, according to sexes, on either side of a low partition.

The officials of the synagogues were an elder, or rabbi, or a chapter of rabbis (rulers of the synagogue), presided **Officials of** over by a chief rabbi; these could excommuni- **synagogue.** cate, or "put out of the synagogue," any who were held to have broken the law, and not purged their offences. There was usually a chief reader of prayers and of the law, who was not engaged in business, and was

chosen by the congregation, and set apart by the imposition of hands. Each synagogue also had a body of ten men, making up a legal congregation, and attending all the services.

The Law of Moses was read in the synagogues on every Sabbath morning in regular order, so as to be gone through once a year; the Prophetical books were read as a second lesson in like manner. Order of service

Afterwards came an exposition, or sermon, drawn from one of the lessons, delivered by one of the rulers, or a person appointed or allowed by them. Prayer preceded and benediction concluded the service. This was the principal service. On the Sabbath afternoon, and also on Mondays and Thursdays, there was a reading of the Law, and services were of course held on festivals.

The Jewish Sabbath was the basis of a series of observances in which the number seven was predominant. Every seventh month, the seventh year, and the forty-ninth or fiftieth (the jubilee year), were specially sacred. The seventh month. The seventh month opened with the Feast of Trumpets, when offerings were doubled, and trumpets were blown throughout the day, instead of merely at the time of sacrifice. This month was further notable for containing the Day of Atonement, and the joyful Feast of Tabernacles. In the seventh, or Sabbatic year, the land was to lie fallow, "that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat." The Sabbatic year. The spontaneous produce of the fields was to be for the poor, strangers, and cattle. In Deuteronomy xv. the Sabbatic year is also a year for the release of debts; but it is not certain that they were abolished, and they may have been merely postponed. Many think the Sabbatic year was only enjoined to be observed the seventh year after the settlement of Canaan, and that it was rarely observed until after the Captivity. We may regard this law as intended to signify an acknowledgment of the Divine ownership of the land.

The year of jubilee was an extra Sabbatical year, announced on the Day of Atonement by the blowing of

trumpets throughout the land. The word "jubilee" **The year of jubilee.** either means the trumpet itself, or the sound it produced. Every Israelite was to recover the land originally assigned to his family, however it might have been alienated. The soil was to lie fallow during the year, and only the natural growth was to be gathered. The law of freedom extended also to servitude; all Israelites who had become bondmen recovered their freedom. Houses in the open country followed the law about land, while those in walled cities were not affected by it. Undoubtedly this legislation had a strong tendency to prevent the accumulation of great wealth in the hands of a few, and was an additional feature distinguishing the Israelites from surrounding nations. We have no knowledge as to how far the Sabbatic and Jubilee years were observed.

Next to the Sabbath the most enduring Jewish observance is the Passover, and the Easter festival in which **The Passover.** it is represented by Christians. Thus the Exodus from Egypt is linked with an annual world-wide festival of Christianity. It combined the significations of a harvest thanksgiving and an anniversary of the escape from Egypt; and some critics think the latter association was later than the other. To detail all particulars connected with it would be too lengthy; but the narrative of the Exodus lays stress on the eating of unleavened bread, because of the hurry of departure from Egypt not allowing time for the slow-working leaven to be used; on the killing of a lamb or kid without blemish, the sprinkling of the side-posts and the lintel of the house door with the animal's blood, its being roasted whole, and on keeping the bones unbroken. The haste of the meal, the preparations for a journey, the staff in the hand, are all graphically described; and in memory of this, and the death of the firstborn of Egypt, all male firstborn were consecrated to God, the animals to be sacrificed, the sons to be redeemed.

In later directions for the observation of this festival we find that the offering of the Omer, or first sheaf of wheat harvest, a seven days' eating of unleavened bread,

and a series of expensive sacrifices of bullocks, rams, lambs, etc., were ordained. Also the sacrifice of the Passover was to be made only at the national sanctuary. This latter regulation is regarded by those who argue for the late origin of Deuteronomy and of the priestly code as having only arisen when Israel was united under the kings, and when a centralisation took place of all great acts of worship at Jerusalem.

The later Israelitish observation of the Passover began on the 14th of Nisan (part of March and April), when all leaven was put away from dwellings, and every **Passover in** male Israelite repaired to Jerusalem, taking an **later times** offering of money in proportion to his means. As the sun set, the lambs offered were slain, and the fat and blood given to the priests; the animals were then roasted and eaten whole, with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (endive, chicory, wild lettuce, or nettles), no portion being left till the morning. On the 15th was a holy assembly, and no work might be done. On this and the following days additional animals were sacrificed, but it is probable that these were omitted in later times. On the 16th the first sheaf was waved by the priest before Jehovah, and the festival ended with a solemn assembly on the 21st. We do not know when the drinking of wine at the Passover meal was introduced: but it became the custom to provide at least four cups of wine, mostly red, to be drunk with water, the cups being passed round at certain intervals. Another addition to the early forms was the singing of a series of psalms of praise, known as the Hallel (a shortened form of Hallelujah). Psalms cxiii. and cxiv. were sung early in the meal, and Psalms cxv. to cxviii. after the fourth cup had been passed round.

The next great festival, following the Passover after an interval of seven weeks from the second day, was that generally known as Pentecost, but also as the **Pentecost** Feast of Weeks, or of the First Fruits. This period of seven weeks included the whole of harvest time, from the beginning of barley-harvest to the complete ingathering of the wheat. At this feast, in addition to the regular sacrifices, two loaves of leavened bread made

from the new wheat were to be waved before Jehovah by the priests, who afterwards ate them. At the same time seven lambs, a bullock, and two rams, and other offerings were to be sacrificed. This was a more joyful celebration than the Passover, and special directions were given that the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow should share in it.

The principal autumn festival was the Feast of Tabernacles or of Ingathering, when the whole of the crops of the year had been gathered in. It lasted seven days, followed by a special day of assembly and sacrifice, sometimes called an eighth day. During the seven days the people were commanded to live temporarily in booths, which were made of the branches of olive, palm, pine, and other trees with thick foliage. In Jerusalem these booths were built on the flat roofs of the houses, in their courts, in the court of the Temple, and in the principal streets. Specially numerous animal sacrifices were offered throughout the week, including seventy bullocks, in addition to private offerings, so that more animals were slain at this period than at any other. On the eighth morning the booths were dismantled, and the people returned to their houses. The booths may be regarded as a standing memorial of the Israelites' former nomadic life.

We must not omit to mention that the spring festival or Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles were the three great national festivals at which every male Israelite in later times was bound to go up to Jerusalem; in earlier times, to the place where the tabernacle was pitched. This regular resort to a common centre must have had a powerful influence in uniting the people. Thus we see the rise of one of the great systems of religious pilgrimage still so powerful among the Hindus, Mahometans, and Roman Catholics.

It remains to mention the Feast of Trumpets, which took place on the day of the new moon which preceded by ten days the Day of Atonement. It was one of the seven days of special holy assembly and sacrifice: on it trumpets were blown all day. Pos-

sibly it was intended to prepare the people for the solemnities of the Day of Atonement; but it was clearly a sort of New Year's Day, introducing the seventh or Sabbatical month of the Jewish calendar.

To complete here the account of forms of worship, no form of prayer was enjoined by the Mosaic code, and it is from later history that we derive the most emphatic testimony to the habit of prayer among the Israelites; and it is extremely improbable, seeing the abundance of prayers in the Egyptian and Semitic religions, that there was any lack of them in early Mosaic times. The beautiful benediction of Numbers vi. 24-26—"Jehovah bless thee and keep thee; Jehovah make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious to thee; Jehovah lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace"—is a very early example of the form of liturgy which arose to such high development in the Book of Psalms, in which are included prayers, praise, confessions, triumphal songs, and formal recitals, traversing the whole field of human experience, often in the loftiest strain of poetry. But in their great days the Jewish people were not given to the vain repetitions of prayers and sacred phrases which afterwards became banal. A form for use when offering first fruits is given in Deuteronomy xxvi. 5-10, 13-15. Probably prayer was offered after every sacrifice. In later Jewish times individuals appear to have gone up regularly to the Temple to pray, and when away from Jerusalem they prayed with their windows open towards Jerusalem. Numerous remarkable and well-known prayers, both on public and private occasions, are recorded in the Old Testament, among which we may note the prayer of Solomon at the Dedication of the Temple, and that of the priests, in the second Temple, in Nehemiah's time.

Apart from the regular offerings, the consecration of persons and things to Jehovah, and the making and fulfilment of vows, entered largely into the Jewish religion. Ewald ("Antiquities of Israel") thus describes the making of vows: "In order to obtain from God some good thing, the want of which he felt with

Prayer and
forms of
worship.

Vows.

painful keenness, a man desired to give up on his part something dear to himself; but because his own weakness made him despair of being able to make this sacrifice, or at least because it could not be made immediately, he bound himself through an oath to God, spoken out clearly and with the utmost seriousness, that he would fulfil it. This naturally inspired him with a strength which had previously failed him, and which, perhaps, without this spasmodic flight, he would never have possessed." The occurrence of extraordinary emergencies sometimes, as in other religions, inspired the most tremendous vows—such as the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter—which were fulfilled; but the Law allowed of the annulling of some vows, such as those of a wife or unmarried daughter by the head of the family, and the redemption of others by a valuable offering, according to a scale carefully drawn up. The last degeneration of such a practice was seen in the corban custom at the time of Christ, when a man might prevent himself from giving to another, or even to his parent's utmost need, by vowing his property to God, even without actually resigning its possession and enjoyment.

In prohibiting all mutilations or tortures of the human body, excepting that which constituted the rite of circumcision so largely in vogue in South-western Asia and Egypt, the Jewish religion was left with fasting as an important means of self-discipline in addition to vows and offerings. Fasting, individual and national, figured considerably in their system. The annual fast on the Day of Atonement showed the recognition granted to it, and it was often resorted to in times of national danger or misfortune. Another form of self-discipline was found in the offering of the hair and abstinence from wine; and the period of thirty days' abstinence, during attendance at the sanctuary, became specially commendable. Groups of persons who took certain religious vows were formed from time to time, such as the Rechabites and the Nazarites (more correctly Nazirites), the latter of whom consecrated their bodies and all their powers

Fasting.

**Nazarites
and
Rechabites.**

to Jehovah for a limited time or for life. Wine and even grapes were forbidden to them; no change in their body was allowable, even the hair might not be cut; dead bodies must not be approached. At the end of the period of the vow, special offerings were made in the Temple. Samson, Samuel, and John the Baptist appear to have all been Nazarites for life.

How far the Jewish religion was from the other religions we have described can partially be judged by comparing them in detail, though our brief survey leaves many topics unnoticed. The deification of heroes or priests, the worship of relics, monasticism, the worship of ancestors, wizardry, and magic, found no home in the Jewish system. And perhaps that which prevented these from arising, and which elevated the nation most in the religious scale, was the declaration and the constant inward sense that the nation and its individuals were holy, consecrated to Jehovah, and must therefore be kept pure from all inward and outward defilement, and when defiled in any way must be purified by appropriate submission, repentance, and offerings. The people are declared in Deuteronomy to be the children of Jehovah: and the dedication of the first-born children and the offerings of firstlings and first-fruits kept in memory and expressed gratitude for the deliverances which Jehovah had wrought for them. Special kinds of food, special laws of purification, and other peculiar personal regulations were devised to strengthen the feeling of separation from other nations, and of exceptional elevation as the children of Jehovah. The Jewish religion had as its birthright the revelation, in a degree far above that which others had attained, "Holy shall ye be, for holy am I." Not a human ideal, but a Divine example was the standard set before the nation. Thus the nation became a household united by one thought, one worship, and thus it attained a strength which long protected its feebleness. Rejecting an earthly sovereign, the ideal of Jehovah as Sovereign was raised above the nation; and laws had so much the more the sanction of public opinion, as they were believed to come

Consecration
of the whole
people to
Jehovah.

direct from God, and to be enforced by temporal punishments and calamities, apart from the decreed penalties by which alone pardon and restoration could be obtained by offenders. And, on the other hand, the laws were the more readily enforced, as it will be seen on close study that the majority of them had the soundest basis in natural laws, and others were at least in accordance with the best wisdom of the time, or represented substantial improvement on practices of the surrounding nations.

It may be astonishing at first sight to find that the Jewish law regarded a large number of animals and natural conditions or objects as unclean which we do not; but in this it only followed the instinct of many peoples and religions, which find certain repulsions inherent, and which create others in virtue of some accidental conditions. Ruminant animals, finny and scaly fish, and locusts were allowed to be eaten; but the camel, hare, coney, and swine, and all the smaller land animals were forbidden. The mode of death, too, was important; any mode which did not allow the blood to be thoroughly drained from the flesh was forbidden, for the eating of blood, in which animal life was supposed especially to reside, was strictly tabooed. All dead animal matter made him who touched it impure. The elaboration of the regulations about impurity and purification is too great for us to deal with here: but they had the object not only of making and keeping the body of the servant of Jehovah clean and pure, but of guarding carefully the purity of the spirit, though, as we know, this object, to a very considerable extent, was not attained. We may note among the means of purification, specially purified water, cedar-wood, threads of scarlet cloth, the leaves and stalk of the hyssop, and a red heifer. One striking particular in which a difference from Egyptian practice was shown, was in the discontinuance of embalming the dead.

Burial was performed at a distance from human dwellings, and, as far as possible, in caves, natural or artificial. The impurity attaching to enemies' possessions, as usually polluted in some way by alien re-

**Clean and
unclean
animals.**

**Means of
purification.**

Burial.

ligions, was shown by the frequency with which they were entirely destroyed, instead of being utilised as legitimate booty. Conversely, the touching of sacred objects after they were consecrated was an offence of the deepest dye, often punished by death. It is worthy of remark that many of the Israelitish regulations showed a knowledge, or at least instinct, about the laws of health, which would have done credit to many a nation presumedly much more advanced in civilisation.

The relationships within which marriage was allowed were strictly limited; and a man was forbidden to marry two sisters at the same time, although a senti- **Marriage limits.** ment about the hereditary descent of property made it a duty for a man's brothers in succession to marry his widow if he died childless. All unnatural lusts were most strictly forbidden and heavily punished; and even the mixture of different seeds in sowing, and the union of wool and linen in the same garment, were unlawful.

Through all the Jewish ideas of their relation to Nature we find ruling a belief that it belongs to God. Young fruit trees were not to be cropped till three years had passed; in the fourth year the fruit was offered to Jehovah, and only afterwards did it come into use by man. **Nature the property of Jehovah.** The ox treading out the corn was not to be muzzled; eggs or young birds were not to be taken from the nest while the mother was there; domestic animals were to share the rest of the Sabbath; and all this that it might be well with the people who belonged to the same God whose were the animal and the vegetable kingdoms. Thus we may understand the depth of the feeling which inspired in the 50th Psalm the lines (Perowne's translation):—

“ Mine is every beast of the forest,
The cattle upon the mountains by thousands.
I know every bird of the mountains,
And that which moveth in the field is with Me.”

The strength of that feeling in favour of the protection of human life which in so many nations and religions makes revenge of murder an absolute duty, was shown

by the permission given to the heirs of a murdered man, and especially the next heir, the redeemer, to execute punishment upon him, though his guilt was first to be determined by a regular investigation, two witnesses at least being required. Blood-money was not allowed to be accepted. When the murderer was unknown, a special mode of expiation was provided, so that the people of the neighbourhood might be cleared from Divine vengeance. Unwitting manslaughter was only purged by fleeing to a sacred city of refuge, which he could not leave, or the avenger might slay him. So strongly was the right of blood-revenge maintained, that even King David could not prevent Joab from putting it in force without the sanction of any court. There is every reason to believe that the Jewish people were unstained by the practices of infanticide, which were so glaring an evil in many Oriental nations.

Minor injuries were to be punished in kind—"eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning **"An eye for an eye."** for burning," etc.; although later, when the offended person consented, they could be expiated by money payments. Injuries received in a mutual quarrel were satisfied by payment for loss of time. But the Jewish law took cognisance of offences which were followed by no physical injury. Slander, hatred, false witness, unequal honour to the rich, are unsparingly condemned; and many positive precepts show the rise of kindly feelings, of compassion, of tolerance and kindness towards strangers, as well as of true justice in word and deed, in generous fulness, among the Israelites. The precept, "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man," might have been written in China.

The references to the year of jubilee will already have explained one feature of the law of property, which aimed at keeping the land in the hands of the same families permanently. The tendency of the Israelites to lend money for interest is strongly marked by the stringent prohibitions of usury which are found in

the Law, and the Deuteronomic acknowledgment that interest might be taken from strangers, though not from fellow-Israelites. Already in Exodus the practice of taking pledges for loans was in existence, and it became necessary to forbid keeping a man's outer garment (used as a bed-covering) beyond sunset. A widow's garment might not be taken, nor a handmill, and the creditor might not enter the debtor's house to seize his goods. The service of the debtor who was unable to pay might be demanded, or that of his wife or child; but such Hebrew bondslaves were to be released in the seventh year. Yet the slave could voluntarily renounce his freedom, at the cost of having his ear bored through with an awl against the door or door-post of the Slaves.

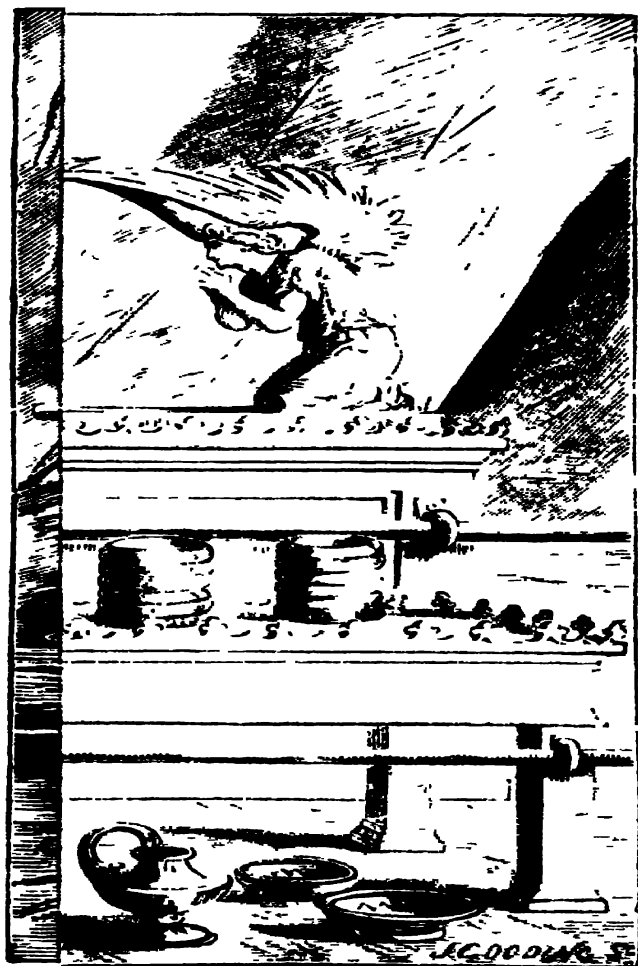
sanctuary. Slaves, while placed in a position much better than in other surrounding nations, in fact being treated much as hired servants, were yet somewhat strictly kept in servitude, and their emancipation only appears to have been customary in the year of jubilee. Female slaves also were treated as chattels with regard to marriage or concubinage. After the Babylonish captivity slavery went out of use among the Jews.

The elevation of the Jewish religion above most others is shown in another particular—the treatment of strangers, other than fellow-countrymen. Strictly fair Treatment of treatment of them is enjoined; nay, in Leviticus strangers. we are told, "The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the homeborn among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." The widow and orphan, the poor and friendless, were to be kindly received and succoured, to whatever race they belonged, and they were to be made partakers in the joys of sacrifice to Jehovah.

The relation of children to parents was originally one of as great subordination as that of slave to master; the duty of submission on the part of the child Parents and was regarded as so paramount that it received children. separate mention in the Decalogue; but this did not exclude, nay, it implied a tender regard for children which is exemplified in many Old Testament narratives.

On the other hand, the disobedience of a child might be punished with any severity. Death was the punishment of a child that struck or cursed a parent, although in Deuteronomy this punishment might only be inflicted on a rebellious son after a hearing of the case before the elders of a city. Again, a child might be sold or given in pledge for a debt; and in several instances a whole family was destroyed for the sin of the head. In Deuteronomy, however, we read that the children are not to be put to death for the sin of the fathers; and this is interpreted by those who regard Deuteronomy as a late compilation, as indicating a gradual relaxation of the severity of the early law.

The marriage laws of the Israelites are on the whole so well known that no extended notice is needed: but **Wives and concubines.** with marriage the husband gained a powerful command over the wife, and she was often practically bought, and might be divorced with comparative ease. A husband who doubted his wife's fidelity might take her to the sanctuary and demand that the priest should subject her to an awe-inspiring trial by ordeal, giving her a peculiarly compounded drink, "the water of jealousy," which was expected to bring destruction upon a guilty woman. That women by no means occupied the degraded position assigned to them in many Oriental countries is evidenced by numerous instances of women being prophetesses, and even military leaders, and being greatly honoured even by the most renowned prophets. Marriage was viewed as an honourable estate; children were a heritage from Jehovah. Violations of purity cannot have been common; and a great distinction was thus maintained between the Jews and surrounding nations. Concubinage and double marriages were allowed; but these were very different from the licentiousness of many Oriental States. The kings were commanded not to multiply their wives—a command which they evidently disregarded. In later Jewish times monogamy appears to have become customary, although divorce was much abused. Hebrew marriage was not connected with any religious rite.



That the moral condition of the Jews was high compared with most other nations is evident from comparing their histories. That they were largely exempt from the vices which found a home with extreme wealth is undoubted. That they owed much to the examples of their early leaders is equally true. But they owed more to the vivid conception and assimilation of the belief that they were Jehovah's chosen people, who must therefore be holy and pure, and must reject all the practices which His prophets denounced as displeasing to Him. Nowhere else can we find a nation inspired with the ideal of a Divine King, guiding every step and giving every victory. And although this ideal proved to be beyond their strength to realise fully, and they were not skilled enough in statecraft to frame a practicable republic, their ideal lived on even when they had set up an earthly kingdom, and bore especial fruit when an odious foreign domination controlled them. When most held in subjection, they turned their thoughts to a coming Deliverer. Divine yet human, who should release them from bondage and place them in triumph at the head of human affairs.





CHAPTER III.

The Jewish Priesthood and Temples; the Psalms and Philosophical Wisdom.

The priesthood—Aaron—The high priest's dress—Urim and Thummim—Special functions of high priest—The later high priests—The hereditary priests—The Levites—The temple at Jerusalem—Dimensions and structure—The ark and cherubim—The temple services—Zerubbabel's temple—Herod's temple—Religious growth of Israel—Samuel—David—The Psalms—Testimony of Athanasius, Luther, and Edward Irving—Interpretation of Psalms—Messianic Psalms—Characteristics of the Psalms—Future life—Growth of the Psalter—The five books of Psalms—The Proverbs—Praise of utility—The eulogy of wisdom—Ecclesiastes—Variety of opinions—The book of Job—Diversity of views about it—Its loftiness of thought—Salient problems dealt with—Job's patience—Future life and judgment—Job and Elihu—The Theophany.

THE original family priests of Israel, when the patriarch ceased to perform all religious rites himself, were the eldest sons; and it was a great change from this **The priest-** system when a special tribe engrossed priestly **hood.** duties. This is recorded as having been the work of the new religious development which dated from Moses, which, including as it did loftier ideas, more complex observances, and numerous new laws, tended to become from the first associated with that family to which the new ideas and their propagation had been committed.

Aaron. Probably Aaron had, during Moses' absence in Midian, been already stirring up his people to revolt against the Egyptians; but his character, much less original and steadfast than his brother's, so far yielded to opportunism as to become the instrument of the worship of Jehovah under the image of a golden calf,

which led to a kind of festival very repugnant to Moses, and produced one of the grandest manifestations of the great leader's self-suppression and willingness to give himself for his people. But Aaron's sin having sprung from a desire to yield to popular sentiment in order that he might turn it towards the true worship, he was not therefore incapacitated for becoming the first high priest of Israel; but his ordination was through Moses. It was celebrated by a sin-offering, a burnt-offering, and a meat-offering, the putting on of special robes, anointing with oil, the offering of a ram of consecration, and the sprinkling of its blood upon Aaron and his sons as well as upon the altar and its vessels. Aaron's special priesthood was distinctly guarded by the punishment of his sons Nadab and Abihu for "offering strange fire" on the altar, and of Korah and the Levites for rebelling against his supremacy. Aaron's tendency to presumption and self-confidence is shown more than once in the Biblical narrative, and it is typical of the character subsequently maintained by the priesthood, which became conservative of established tradition and of sacerdotal rights rather than possessed of a reforming and elevating spirit.

The high priest wore a special dress, including: (1) A tunic of linen, called an ephod, in two parts, back and front, clasped together at either shoulder by a **The high** large onyx, with the names of six of the tribes **priest's dress.** engraved on it; round the waist it was bound by a girdle of gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine linen. (2) A breast-plate, fastened to the onyx-stones and the girdle, and having four rows of three precious stones, each having the name of one of Israel's sons upon it. These stones may themselves have constituted the "Urim and Thummim" (Light and Perfection), which were the medium through which Divine answers were obtained by the high priest. Some think that it was a plate of gold on which the name of Jehovah was engraved, and that by fixing his attention on it, the priest was elevated into **Urim and** the prophetic spirit. **Thummim.** A more plausible theory is, that the Urim was a symbol of Light, analogous to the scarabæus similarly worn by the Egyptian priests; while

the Thummim was a symbolic image of Truth, such as was worn by the priestly judges of Egypt. This Egyptian origin accords with their not being described in the Pentateuch, as being so well known to the people. Dean Plumptre (*Dictionary of Bible*, Art. "Urim and Thummim") suggests that the high priest, fixing his gaze on these symbols, concentrated his thoughts on the Light and Perfection they represented, and on the holy name of Jehovah. Thence he passed into an ecstatic state in which all lower human elements were forgotten, and he received a higher insight which was accepted as Divine. (3) A blue "robe of the ephod," worn beneath it, trimmed with pomegranates, in blue, red, and crimson, with a golden bell between each alternate pomegranate. (4) A mitre, or upper turban, having a gold plate fastened to it by a ribbon, and bearing the inscription, "Holiness to Jehovah." Besides these, the high priest wore, in common with the subordinate priests, an embroidered coat or tunic, with girdle and drawers. A simple linen turban was worn by the priests instead of the high priest's mitre.

The special functions of the high priest will already have been partly gathered from the account of ceremonies. To him alone was it permitted to enter the inner sanctuary, or Holy of Holies, once a year on the great day of atonement. During the high priest's lifetime persons who had fled to a city of refuge might not quit it. The high priest was forbidden to rend his clothes for the dead, or to follow a funeral. In other particulars his functions might vary greatly with circumstances; but so long as his character commanded the people's reverence, he was the interpreter of the will of God to the people, and cast the sacred lots to determine important questions. But in later times, when the priesthood became more formal and conservative, these functions passed largely into the hands of the prophets, and at times there was antagonism between the priestly and prophetic classes. It is worthy of notice, that in the account of the dedication of Solomon's Temple, the high priest is not mentioned; the new royal power had eclipsed him. Indeed, this was largely the case

during the monarchy. After the Babylonian captivity the high priest again became prominent. Jaddua, high priest at the time of Alexander the Great, met ^{The later} him in procession, and was treated reverentially ^{high priests.} by him. To Simon the Just is ascribed the completion of the Old Testament canon. During his brother Eleazar's priesthood the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was made at Alexandria for Ptolemy Philadelphus. The degeneracy of Eleazar's successors was followed by the brilliant revival of the priesthood in the family of the Maccabees, which lasted from B.C. 153 to 35, when Aristobulus was murdered by order of his brother-in-law, Herod the "Great." Henceforward the high priesthood was more degraded than it had ever been. Herod and his successors made and unmade high priests at will, often men of low birth; and in the 107 years preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, there had been twenty-eight high priests.

The Jewish priests (*kohen*), as an order, appear to have been constituted especially out of the family and descendants of Aaron. We only read of the consecration of his sons, and afterwards the office was ^{The} hereditary ^{priests.} until Jeroboam, in founding the kingdom of Israel, appointed a fresh priesthood. They wore linen garments and caps whenever they ministered in the Tabernacle or Temple, where they always went barefooted. No descendant of Aaron with any physical defect might act as priest. They were forbidden to shave their heads, or to imitate other priesthoods either in asceticism or licentiousness. In every way they were trained and designed to be able to clearly distinguish between what was clean and unclean, sacred and profane. After the Captivity, great stress was laid on genealogical proof of true descent and on examination for physical blemishes before the Sanhedrim admitted a youth to take part in the Temple services.

Abundant work was assigned to the priests. Besides assisting the high priests, they had to keep the altar fire and the golden lamp perpetually burning, to offer the regular morning and evening sacrifices, and to be in

readiness to receive any worshipper and offer sacrifice, or otherwise do the priest's office for him. The judgment about leprosy, the ordeal of the waters of jealousy, and numerous other decisions were committed to them, and they were in general charged with the religious instruction of the people. In return they received a regular maintenance of one-tenth of the tithes assigned to the Levites, and large portions of the sacrificial offerings. In the time of David the priests were divided into twenty-four courses or sets, each of which took the services for a week at a time: but this order did not prevent others, out of their turn, from taking a share in the services, particularly at the great festivals. On the return from the Captivity, only four of these courses remained; but the twenty-four were constituted anew out of the remnant. In later Jewish times they largely increased in number, and many of them were poor, ignorant, and despised. It is very probable that the "high places" so often referred to in Jewish history were supplied with priests claiming descent from Aaron: but they went further than this, and officiated as priests of Baal, of the sun and moon, and of the "host of heaven," as the prophets testify.

The priesthood which belonged to the Levites as distinct from the sons of Aaron dated apparently from their rallying round Moses and Aaron after the Israelites had worshipped the golden calf, when they consecrated themselves to defend the Tabernacle and the pure worship of Jehovah. After that they were adopted in place of the first-born as priests, and obtained a maintenance from the other tribes, and numerous privileges. During the wilderness wanderings they carried all the tabernacle treasures, all the appliances of sacrifice. They gained increased influence when the Israelites had settled in Palestine, became diffused in forty-eight cities and their suburbs throughout the land, and received shares of booty taken in war. In the times of David and Solomon they appear as hymn-writers and musicians, taking a prominent part in the services at Jerusalem; but we have no definite information as to how they were replaced from the provincial cities. Later, they appear as scribes,

officers, judges, and teachers. In Deuteronomy the offices of preserving, copying, and interpreting the Law are assigned to them, and they were to read it aloud at the Feast of Tabernacles every seventh year, and to pronounce the curses from Mount Ebal. After the formation of the kingdom of Israel they left it to a large extent, and gathered closely into connection with Jerusalem and the Temple, showing themselves in Hezekiah's time more zealous and upright in heart than the priests; thus they acquired greater influence than ever in both Hezekiah's and Josiah's reigns. They were less numerous after the Captivity, and did not take any special part in the formation of synagogues, though they retained precedence in them, and were a majority in the Sanhedrim; but the Levites in general were only the inferior officers of the Temple. After its destruction they sank into the general mass of subdued, captive, or dispersed Jews.

THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.

The change from a wandering and a conquering life to a settled and powerful dominion was marked by the construction of a sacred building which, while not rivaling in architecture and magnificence the great temples of Egypt and Mesopotamia, was yet a splendid monument of royal devotion. The design and planning of the Temple are in large part ascribed to David, who collected much of the treasure and engaged many of the workmen. Its site was Mount Moriah, north-east of Mount Zion, the altar being placed where David offered sacrifice on the staying of the pestilence which followed his census. This site being uneven in its upper portion, and not squared into areas suitable for the temple-courts, its dimensions were corrected by Solomon, who built gigantic walls as a substructure to support the upper buildings.

The idea of the new Temple was plainly borrowed from that of the Tabernacle, whose dimensions it doubled. The Holy of Holies measured twenty cubits every way; the outer court was forty cubits long by twenty broad, but it was raised to thirty cubits in height to support three outer stories of chambers for

*Dimensions
and
structure.*

the priests and temple servers; while the east end had a porch ten cubits in depth, and decorated with two immense bronze pillars with magnificent lily-shaped capitals. The roof was probably flat, and any openings for light could only be made in the part of the Temple wall that rose above the side stories. Probably the Holy of Holies was quite dark. Outside the Temple proper was a great court of similar shape. The internal ornamentation of this Temple was magnificent; but we must leave details to be gathered from the narrative in 1 Kings.

Within the Holy of Holies was placed the Ark, as it had been handed down for centuries; but to accord with **The Ark and the greater magnificence of the Temple, two Cherubim.** huge cherubim were set up in it, whose wings were of such dimensions as jointly to stretch entirely across the building. They were placed at a height of ten cubits above the floor, and could not be seen through the door from the Holy Place. In this latter was a gilded altar and a table for shew-bread, and, according to 2 Chronicles, ten tables with a golden candlestick on each. There were, besides, a huge bronze altar in the fore-court, and a vast laver of bronze, with vessels termed bases, in which water could be conveyed thence wherever needed. The consecration of this Temple, after seven years and a half had been occupied in its erection, was the most magnificent ceremony in Israelitish history. The sacrifices were of enormous extent, and an overpowering impression of the presence of Jehovah awed the worshippers.

We have many evidences of the magnificence with which some of the kings kept up the Temple services, as **The Temple well as of the riches which it contained. The services.** successive spoliation which it underwent from the Egyptians, and for tribute to other foreign powers, still left sufficient treasure in it to furnish a great booty for Nebuchadnezzar: and then it was, as far as fire could effect it, completely destroyed.

The temple of Zerubbabel, erected about 520 B.C., after the return of the Jews from Babylon, is but little known **Zerubbabel's in detail. Apparently the outer buildings were temple** increased in width, and the total length of the

courts was considerably increased; but necessarily the magnificence was much diminished, and, above all, it did not contain the Ark of the Covenant, which had been lost or destroyed, and no copy of it was made. Nor was the high priest any more equipped with the breastplate, so essential in the consultation of the sacred oracle. But yet, so far as the machinery of routine worship and sacrifice were concerned, the priests were enabled once more to carry out the essentials of Jehovah's service, and to lay an increased stress on the public reading and the observance of the Law.

How far this temple survived the lapse of time and the injuries of such tyrants and devastators as Antiochus Epiphanes, cannot be ascertained; but there is some probability that the essential features **Herod's temple.** of the structure survived and were incorporated in the magnificent structure raised by Herod the Great (B.C. 20-12). This monarch not only enclosed the central portion in an extensive inner enclosure, reserved for Jews only, about 180 cubits by 240, adorned with splendid porches and gateways, but surrounded the whole with a much larger enclosure, open also to Gentiles, 400 cubits square, constructed with great engineering skill and splendour, vying with that of the greatest temples of other countries. This was furnished with a complete series of flat-roofed cloisters, supported by double rows of Corinthian columns: on the outer side was the closed temple wall, internally the space was open to the great outer court of the temple. On the southern side, however, there was added to this a great porch, or practically a nave and two aisles, the whole 100 feet wide, and the nave rising to a height of 100 feet. In total length, this "porch" was longer than our largest English cathedrals, extending to 600 feet, and supported by 160 Corinthian columns.

RELIGIOUS GROWTH OF ISRAEL.

Going back now to trace some features in the religious development of Israel, we need only note how thoroughly the conquest of Canaan under Joshua and his successors was inspired by the belief in Jehovah's divine commission

to the people, and in His presence and aid in battle, the connection of this belief with the necessity for much slaughter of the peoples whom they conquered, and the destruction of their idols. After Joshua's death the nation had no continuous head but the High Priest, who probably presided over the Assembly of the Elders of the tribes, and declared the will of Jehovah after consulting the oracle. Shiloh, north of Bethel, was for many years the most usual seat of the Tabernacle and residence of the High Priest. The cessation of united organisation for war gave place to dissolving and weakening influences: the Canaanites at various times regained power, and the worship of their gods was extended; and we hear very little of the High Priests or of the Assembly of Elders for a long period. The priestly character degenerated till it became a byword in the sons of Eli, when there arose the first of the great series of Prophets to call back the people to the purer service of Jehovah, to denounce prevalent sins, and to elevate the national ideal. Samuel

Samuel appears not to have introduced any new principles, but he purified the national worship, established his jurisdiction as a pure judge, and when he found that loyalty to an invisible ruler failed to unite and preserve the people in stable order and content, he anointed the most notable young warrior of his time as king, and, as far as in him lay, established the kingdom in righteousness. His distinction as a man possessed of insight into affairs human and divine was made evident by many circumstances. He is a religious leader outside the Aaronic priesthood, although his training under Eli practically adopted him into it: but he exalted the prophetic teaching conveyed through himself above the functions of the priests. "To obey is better than sacrifice," he powerfully asserted, and his lesson has embedded itself in the higher religious conscience of mankind.

Samuel's appearance was but the first-fruit of an awakening which established "schools of the prophets," or religious companies, which manifested and trained gifts of speech and song that soon became notable. Probably David,—recognised in his early youth by Samuel as

Saul's successor,—in such schools matured those gifts which have made him even more famous as the sweet singer than as the powerful King of Israel.

David's religious importance, in addition to the study of his character and history as impartially detailed to us in the Old Testament, consists in his development of public worship and his contributions

David.

to sacred literature. Although, contrary to the notion which has grown up among English people, the majority of the Psalms are not the composition of David; they derived their original stamp, their pattern, their highest flights from him, and are rightly associated most distinctively with his name. No man

The Psalms.

has more vividly or truly expressed the depths of human experience, the heights of religious aspiration, the strength of conviction as to God's nature, prerogatives, and care for His people. Athanasius says of the Psalms that they are to him who sings them as a

Tesimony of Athanasius.

mirror, wherein he may see himself and the motions of his soul, and with like feelings utter them. Luther says in his preface to the Psalms: "Where will you find words more aptly chosen to express joy, than in the Psalms of praise and the Psalms of thanksgiving? There thou mayest look into the heart of all the saints, as into fair delightful gardens, yea, even into heaven itself, and note with what wonderful variety there spring up therein, like so many exquisite, hearty, delightful flowers, sweet and gladsome thoughts of God and His benefits. On the other hand, where canst thou find deeper, sadder, more lamentable words of sorrow than are to be found in the Psalms of complaint? There again thou mayest look into the heart of all the saints, as into death, yea, as into hell. How dark and gloomy it is there with the manifold hiding of God's countenance! So likewise, when the Psalms speak of fear or hope, they speak in such manner of words that no painter could so paint the fear or the hope, and no Cicero or master of oratory could express them to the life more happily."

of Luther,

Edward Irving wrote thus of the Psalms: "For pure pathos and tenderness of heart, for sublime imagination,

for touching pictures of natural scenery, and genial and Edward sympathy with Nature's various moods; for Irving. patriotism, whether in national weal or national woe: for beautiful imagery, whether derived from the relationship of human life or the forms of the created universe; and for the illustration, by their help, of spiritual conditions: moreover, for those rapid transitions in which the lyrical muse delighteth, her lightsome graces at one time, her deep and full inspiration at another, her exuberance of joy and her lowest falls of grief, and for every other form of the natural soul which is wont to be shadowed forth by this kind of composition, we challenge anything to be produced from the literature of all ages and countries, worthy to be compared with what we find even in the English version of the Book of Psalms."

After considering very many sublime passages of the Psalms, it may be safely said, that if the term "inspired," as signifying a gift of language and thought in a super-human way, may not be applied to them, it can scarcely be applied to anything: and the general adoption of their language by Christians in devotion proves their correspondence with the wants and feelings of the soul. There are, however, very wide divergences of opinion, even among orthodox divines, as to the interpretation of many passages, showing that there is no theory of inspiration sufficiently agreed upon to settle all difficulties or to obviate the need of either ecclesiastical or private judgment. The most important question about the interpretation of the Psalms is their reference to the Messiah expected by the Israelites, in the two characters of a victorious king and a suffering prophet. While there can be no doubt that in most cases there is a primary meaning of the Psalms, applicable to the writer or his subject, many divines point to the confessions of sin as excluding numerous so-called Messianic passages from having a Messianic reference, and maintain that in others such references were not consciously in the mind of the writer, although they have a broad and grand fulfilment in the Person of Christ. All but a few critics agree that the

Psalms in many places foreshadow or pre-typify Jesus. Bishop Perowne observes: "Nowhere in the Psalms are the redemption of the world and Israel's final glory bound up with the coming of the Messiah. . . . The Advent to which Israel looks forward is the Advent of Jehovah. It is He who is Israel's true King. It is His coming which shall be her redemption and her glory." And Calvin, in commenting on the 72nd Psalm, says: "They who will have this to be simply a prediction of the Kingdom of Christ seem to twist the words very violently."¹

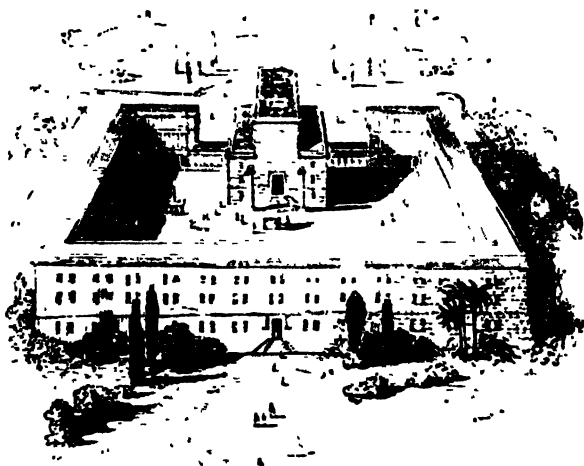
Apart from this, the Psalms are distinguished beyond all other sacred books by the directness of their appeal to God. No circumstance of life or experience is regarded as hidden from the Supreme Being, or unsuitable to be the subject of direct communion with Him. Frequently life in the midst of trouble or on pinnacles of greatness is associated with God in such a way that the human and the Divine belong to one cycle of being, inseparably related. The views of the Divine greatness and majesty developed in the Psalms contain some of the sublimest of all poetic expressions, and add emphasis to the frequent repudiations and denunciations of idolatry. Worship, by songs and music, prayer and praise, public and private worship, is abundantly inculcated; but there is little stress laid on sacrifices, compared with the obedience of the heart to the Divine law, and the consecration of the life to righteousness. Sin is laid bare in its inner working in the soul, and as inherent in human nature by birth: but forgiveness of the true penitent's sin by Jehovah is asserted, and the assistance of God's "Holy Spirit" is besought in efforts after righteousness. Evil is recompensed to the evil-doer, and good will befall the righteous; and both will, in part,

**Character-
istics of
the Psalms.**

¹ We may here give the Messianic fore-shadowings from the Psalms given in the New Testament: xxii. 18 (John xiii. 18); xxxiv. 20 (John xix. 36); xli. 9 (John xiii. 18); lxix. 10 (Rom. xv. 3); lxix. 21 (John xix. 28). In addition, "In Ps. xxxv. 11 we have a foreshadowing of the false testimony against Jesus; in Ps. xxii. 7, 8, lxix. 12, of the revilings; in Ps. xxii. 16, of the piercing of the hands and feet; in Ps. lxix. 21, of the offering of the gall and vinegar" (Cheyne).

be handed on to their children. The instruction of others by the righteous is exemplified and encouraged, and in a few passages, such as Psalm vii. 4, kindness to enemies is dimly suggested. But the imprecations upon wilful transgressors of Jehovah's laws and defiers of His greatness are as severe as denunciations can be, affording a counterpart to the Communion Service of the Church of England. On the other hand, little distinct mention of a future life is made. In some of the Psalms, indeed, the state of man after death is spoken of as non-existence. In death there is no remembrance

Future life.



SUPPOSED FORM OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

of God, we are told, nor is there any access to Him for them that lie down in silence. Yet, at times, there are glimpses of a happy future for the righteous (Ps. xvii. 15; xlix. 15; and if the reading "to," rather than "with," glory be accepted, in Ps. lxxiii. 24), and of a future judgment, when the good will be rewarded and the evil punished.¹

So much might be said on questions connected with the Psalms,—that "Bible within the Bible," as it has

¹ For "The Doctrine of a Future Life as Contained in the Old Testament Scriptures," see Geden's Fernley Lecture, 1874.

been called,—that it is difficult to choose or to abstain. But our main concern here is with the place of the Psalms in the religious history of Israel. Their matter is universally known; able criticism upon them is accessible, though unfortunately at considerable cost, in works such as those of Perowne and Cheyne. Consequently, we shall not discuss whether all the Psalms attributed to David in the inscriptions are by him, or whether, as some say, only eleven entire Psalms and portions of others are certainly his. It is acknowledged that the Psalms represent the growth of centuries, extending from the very early 90th Psalm, ascribed to Moses, to the date of the Maccabees, according to some; that they grew out of smaller collections, made at different times by zeal like that of the “men of Hezekiah,” who collected Solomon’s Proverbs, and that it is now impossible to ascertain when the inscriptions, which are not integral parts of the Psalms, were added, or upon what evidence. A considerable proportion of the Psalms, doubtless, beyond those of David, belong to his age,—to the singers and poets whom he gathered round him. Only two Psalms are ascribed to Solomon. The times of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah witnessed the collection and arrangement of many Psalms. Others were written in connection with the Assyrian and Babylonish captivities; but the greatest outpouring of sacred song, after David’s era, was connected with and inspired by the return from Babylon. The Psalms known as Pilgrim Songs, or Songs of the Going-up, belong to this period, and one set (cxiii.–cxviii.) constituted the Hallel, sung at the Passover, Pentecost, etc. A strong national element marks this later psalmody, with less of the anguish or exultation of personal individual experience. Some of the Psalms, which are most confidently referred to the much later time of the desecration of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, are the 44th, 74th, and 79th.

Altogether, the Psalms consist of five books; but how early this division existed cannot be said: and each book consists of one or more groups, many ascribed to the same authors, or sets of authors,

**The Five
Books of
Psalms.**

being grouped together. "The first book," says Bishop Perowne, "consists, with two or three exceptions, of Psalms of David; the second, of a series of Psalms by the sons of Korah, and another series by David; the third, of two minor collections, one supposed to be by Asaph, and the other by the sons of Korah. In the fifth we have one group of Pilgrim Songs and another group of 'Hallelujah Psalms,' each of them manifestly, in the first instance, distinct hymn-books or liturgies." The first book uses the name Jehovah about eighteen times, as often as Elohim; in the next two books the latter name is chiefly used. From Psalm lxxxv. to the end, and especially in Books IV. and V., the name Jehovah is almost exclusively employed. There are indications that chronological order has been disturbed in the existing arrangement; and in many psalms, additions, omissions, and other alterations were made after their composition. Specimens of such alterations are found in psalms which are partially repeated either as psalms or in some other Old Testament book. The inscriptions, too, "are sometimes genuine, and really represent the most ancient tradition. At other times they are due to the caprice of later editors and collectors, the fruits of conjecture, or of dimmer and more uncertain traditions" (Perowne).

Similarly to the Psalms, the Proverbs ascribed to Solomon are now acknowledged to form a composite work, which was probably only put together three centuries after the age of Solomon (Plumptre); and it is a question whether any of the actual sayings of Solomon are preserved in it, for much of the matter scarcely agrees with his character, or the thought of his age. The central portion of the book (x.-xxii. 16) is probably the earliest. This is followed by several appendices, especially one extending from xxv. to xxix. The preliminary "Praise of Wisdom" shows many marks of distinct origin from the rest of the book, but even Canon Cheyne does not date it later than near the fall of the kingdom of Judah.

Perhaps the most characteristic note of the main portion of the Proverbs is its utilitarianism. The benefits arising



SHAPHAN READING THE BOOK OF THE LAW BEFORE KING JOSIAH.

from wise conduct, and the evils produced by the reverse. **Praise of utility.** are pointedly expressed. Jehovah and His service are extolled, the king is revered, and the glory of a nation is said to be its righteousness. We have indications that monogamy prevails, and that women are highly regarded, and good family government is praised. As regards the hope of immortality, it is disputed whether distinct reference is made to it. We are told that the king's heart is plastic in the hand of Jehovah, and that the glory of a nation consists in its righteousness. But on the whole, we cannot say that the central portion of the Book of Proverbs greatly enlarged or developed the Jewish religious ideals, although it put many of its ideas in a more popular form. The latest appendix develops an ideal of womanhood more full and detailed, more noble and attractive, than had till then been found in the Hebrew Scriptures—in attributing to the virtuous woman wisdom, and kindness, sympathy, and help for the afflicted.

The grandest and most inspiring portion of the book is undoubtedly the preliminary "Praise of Wisdom"

The eulogy of Wisdom. (ch. i.-ix., especially part of chapter viii. Many divines agree that the description of Wisdom here, if not prophetic of Jesus Christ, is only applicable in its full meaning to Him, especially when He is regarded as identical with the Creative Word. This Divine Wisdom is represented as brought forth and set up "from everlasting," before any creation existed, and as actively present in all subsequent creation. Incidentally in this section, we have one of those pregnant sayings which have been the consolation of multitudes under suffering: "Whom Jehovah loves He chastens, even as a father the son in whom he delights."

The Book 'Ecclesiastes,' the Preacher or Debater (Koheleth), as Dean Plumptre says, comes before us as the sphinx of Hebrew literature. **Ecclesiastes.** "It has become almost a proverb, that every interpreter of this book thinks that all previous interpreters have been wrong. Its very title has received some dozen discordant interpretations. The dates assigned to its

authorship by competent experts range over very nearly a thousand years, from B.C. 990 to B.C. 10." While, on the one hand, many stick firmly to its apparent authorship by Solomon, others, led by Luther, regard it as a later book, the author of which dramatically puts himself into the supposed position of the wise and experienced Solomon. Luther, in his "Table Talk," says: "Solomon Variety of
opinions. did not write the Book, 'The Preacher,' himself, but it was composed by Sirach in the time of the Maccabees." Others point to the many words in it which only occur in books written after the exile, and Dr. Ginsburg states that "We could as easily believe that Chaucer is the author of 'Rasselas,' as that Solomon wrote 'Kohелеth.'" One of the most powerful evidences for its late date is, that we find no external mention of it before the Talmud, which speaks in a tone of doubt as to its authority. Several learned critics place it in the period of Persian rule over Judæa: others, among whom Mr. Tyler is conspicuous, find in the book plain indications of the influence of the Stoic and the Epicurean philosophies, which are contrasted with one another, and alternately adopted or thrown aside. There can be no doubt as to the parallelisms of sentiment between the Greek systems and the philosophy of Kohēleth, and Dean Plumptre speaks of the book as "saturated with Greek thought and language." Mr. Tyler and Dean Plumptre date the book about B.C. 200 to B.C. 180. But many experienced critics are still unconvinced, and regard the author of Ecclesiastes as a comparatively early Jewish thinker, whose ideas are rather the germ of systematic ethical philosophy, and whose expressions have a predominantly Hebrew aspect.

Readers do not need reminding of the contents of Ecclesiastes. It does not reveal new matter in theology: rather it tends to show that, apart from some Divine explanation, the system of the world is disheartening and incomprehensible, and that there is no certainty of a future rectification. Dean Plumptre has drawn out a highly interesting and suggestive ideal biography of the Preacher, which forms a setting for his thought, indis-

pensable to students. Many think the last portion (xii. 8-14) was added by a subsequent writer as a summary, with a religious precept, "Fear God, and keep His commandments"; but it is by no means foreign to Hebrew style, that the author should have also written the Epilogue.

The Book of Job is unique in the Old Testament, in its poetic grandeur and in its philosophy; and this is **The Book of** saying a great deal. It might appear that it **Job.** should be easy to date such a book; but it is the most variously dated book, perhaps, in the Canon--for some consider it to be pre-Mosaic, others that it was written by Moses; many date it in Solomon's time, while another school refer it to the period of the exile. Even its style and references, precise as they seem, are variously viewed by different writers, some regarding the lack of reference to Mosaic legislation and Jewish history as proving its very early date, others seeing in this only a detachment from ordinary events and concentration on the problem that is studied. Many have regarded the

Diversity of views about it. book as a faithful description of actual events throughout, even as to the Divine dialogue with Satan; others see in it a traditional narrative based on a real case, and expanded by a later philosopher. The parallelisms discoverable between it, the Proverbs, Psalms, etc., have been said to be caused by the author of Job having read these books, while the converse is assumed by others. The fact is, that on many points connected with the Book of Job, no positive answer can be given, for no positive proofs are now attainable. We are driven to the contents of the book itself, which are what is really most important. And one

Its loftiness of thought. can scarcely help admitting that it marks a development in thought, in conception of the world and of its government, of grasp of evidence, of power of discussion, of depth of insight, as well as sublimity of expression, which, taken altogether, places it later, regarded as a product of the human mind, than the writings we have hitherto considered--excepting, of course, the later Psalms. This view does not, of course,

exclude the possibility that a work, which is later in the order of thought, may have come into existence at an earlier date than we should expect. And, again, it is dangerous to infer that what the writer of a book does not say he did not know.

The book may be regarded as a statement of the most painful problems in the government of the world—the physical and mental trials of the righteous, and the justification of God's dealing with good men. Both Job and his friends are introduced as possessed by the idea that prosperity followed the righteous as adversity overwhelmed the sinful; and the book shows—to quote the Rev. S. Cox—"in the most tragic and pathetic way, that good, no less than wicked, men lie open to the most cruel losses and sorrows; that these losses and sorrows are not always signs of the Divine anger against sin; that they are intended to correct and perfect the righteousness of the righteous. . . . Its higher intention is, to show that God is capable of inspiring, by showing that man is capable of cherishing, that genuine and disinterested affection which is the very soul of goodness; . . . and that man is capable of loving right, simply because it is right, and of hating wrong purely because it is wrong, even though he should not gain by it, but lose." In this sublime book, as Canon Cook remarks in the "Dictionary of the Bible," nearly every theory of the objects and uses of suffering is reviewed; and there are magnificent descriptions of the mystery and majesty of God's works, and vindications of His ways to man. In many ways the Book of Job so far exhausts the subject, that what has really been added since to the argument is essentially slight, with the exception of the Christian hope in a future existence of reward and redress, which many believe to be explicitly foreshadowed in the Book of Job.

Here it may be remarked that Job's patience, so proverbial, is not what it is popularly represented to be—a mere quiet endurance under suffering. True, he endured great physical pain and discomfort with patience; but what could be the reason for it

**Salient
problems
dealt with.**

**Job's
patience.**

tortured him almost beyond endurance, so that he complained at times in very strong language. The doubt as to God's providence, the feeling of being unjustly treated in comparison with the wicked, as well as the unjust criticisms to which he was subjected, worried him exceedingly, and it was only by huge efforts that he was able to control the unquietness within. His was a patience produced out of the utmost turbulence of spirit, and by no means out of quietism or stoicism.

As to the extent of belief in a heaven and a future judgment implied in the Book of Job, there is considerable difference of opinion. In chapter x. Job certainly represents the spirit world as "a land of gloom, black as the blackness of death, where there is no order, and the light is darkness." Later, in chapter xiv., he has a glimpse of a possible future existence; if he had the least assurance of it he would gladly endure pain till then: and in the memorable verses 25-27 of chapter xix., he rises to a solemnity of conviction and expression about the future which is one of the prime sentences of inspiration and comfort to multitudes of the human race. In a marvellous burst of confidence, after expressing the wish that his words might be written down, engraved with iron, and filled in with lead or rock, Job says: "I know that my God or Redeemer (or vindicator) liveth, and He shall stand, at last, over this dust (or upon the earth), and after my body hath thus been destroyed, yet free from my flesh I shall see God; whom I shall see on my side, and mine own eyes shall behold, not those of another." Notwithstanding all the doubts he had expressed, he was at bottom convinced of the justice and goodness of God, and therefore, failing a present vindication, he had a vision of a future vindication by God Himself. So far there is widespread agreement as to the interpretation of this remarkable passage; but beyond this there are diversities of opinion as to its reference to a bodily resurrection upon this earth, as to its specific prophetic reference to Jesus Christ, and the certainty of retribution in a future life, on which general agreement can by no means be attained. It is

remarkable that after such a declaration Job should be represented as again falling into deep despondency; but it is claimed that he never again despairs so greatly, and that his moods are due to the natural alterations caused by his physical state.

Job is depicted as having had a personal character unsurpassed in the Old Testament; and in many ways his conduct is that of an eminent type or fore-shadowing of Christ. Elihu contributes to the Job and Elihu. argument the view that suffering may be corrective and for improvement, as well as punitive; yet he charges Job with secret faults which his sufferings were to induce him to correct. He also supplies, in chapter xxxiii., a very clear view of the ways in which, in his time, God was believed to communicate with and instruct man. And he, equally with Job, believes that God cannot be unjust. The great question to be solved was, Should man impose his law upon God, or God His upon man? Yet in any case he shows that it is best in many ways for men to be righteous; but a man ought rather to suspect himself of sin than God of injustice. Numerous critics consider there are signs indicating that the speeches of Elihu are a later addition to the book, especially because of the peculiar words it contains, and because there is no reference to Elihu in later parts of the book, and especially in the Divine judgment.

The speech put in the mouth of Jehovah—the Theophany as it is generally called—is inexpressibly grand; yet it is generally felt that it is not convincing or fully explanatory of God's dealings with The Theophany. man. Many consider that this is because no full explanation is possible in man's present state, and because it is of the essence of man's training that a fathomless mystery shall be involved in and be behind his life, compelling his attention to the possibilities of a future one. Job, however, is satisfied with the Divine revelation, perhaps because he has now attained what he had so greatly longed for—actual communion with, and speech from, his Maker. Or, we may take it that the lesson taught was to study God in Nature—a lesson which is being so

well learnt in these latter days—and not to dwell on his own personal woes, but rather to contemplate the broad field of existence. We cannot here discuss the questions raised by many as to the Theophany, the prologue and the epilogue being the work of different writers from the body of the book. In conclusion, we must strongly urge those who wish to gain a true idea of the full meaning of the Book of Job, to read it in the Revised Version, and, if possible, in some commentary like those of Dean Bradley and the Rev. S. Cox.





CHAPTER IV.

The Prophets of Israel.

Kuenen's views—Greatness of the prophets—The early seers—Elijah—Elisha—Amos, Hosea, and Joel—Their conception of Jehovah's nature—Vision of the ingathering of nations—Isaiah: two authors—Main topics of first portion—"Immanuel" predictions—Isaiah and Jewish history—His grand predictions—The second Isaiah or great unknown—Later date—Prediction of return from exile—The "Servant of the Lord"—Cyrus—Description of the "Servant"—His humiliation and death—Vicarious suffering—The future glory of Zion—Other teachings of the prophet—Micah—Jeremiah—Ezekiel—Daniel—Predictions as to empires of the world—Prediction of Resurrection—Zechariah—Messianic prophecies—Haggai—Malachi.

IN briefly discussing the prophets of Israel, we may quote from Dr. Muir's Summary of Kuenen's argument (Introduction to Kuenen's "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel"), as showing what those who grant least to them say of their work. "In estimating their action, we must take a higher standpoint than the national one, and regard their contribution to the spiritual development of our race as its most important result. Ethical monotheism is their creation. They have themselves ascended to the belief in one only holy and righteous God, who realises His will or moral good in the world, and they have, by preaching and writing, made that belief the inalienable property of humanity. It was not an intellectual or philosophical system, but a religious belief, which they presented. The God of the prophets bore a very different character from that of the Deity of the philosophers of Greece and Rome. Holiness, righteousness, and mercy constituted the very nature of the former."

We have already spoken of Samuel and David; now we come to Elijah as the next name of high importance.

**Greatness of
the
prophets.**

In the prophets of Israel we witness in culmination a form of Divine teaching which has been by no means scantily displayed in our previous narrative. In the religious teachers of other forms of religion we find much error, much imposture, mixed with genuine belief in their mission, and genuine services which they rendered to their fellow-tribesmen in their advance in civilisation, but the prophets of Israel as a whole (though with many imperfect members) rendered services and gave teaching which place them in the highest rank among religious teachers. They were the seers who, if any persons did, received messages from the Divine; they were pioneers of progress, radical reformers, yet in a conservative fashion, for they sought to conserve the nation by maintaining the national worship of Jehovah, and deepening and strengthening it. Of their organisation we know little. They formed schools or groups; but how a man was admitted to be a prophet we do not know. Probably his inspiration was either self-evident, or was claimed by himself, and readily admitted. But there is evidence in a remarkable passage in 1 Samuel ix. that

**The early
seers.**

the new order of prophets developed out of the older soothsayers or seers, honoured and consulted on account of their knowledge of hidden things. By the time of Elijah they had increased to a large number; they were known as the opponents of the calf-worship and other forms of idolatry that had been introduced into Israel, and the establishment of centres of worship at Dan and Bethel, in rivalry to Jerusalem. At Bethel a new sanctuary, a rival to the temple at Jerusalem, had been erected, which, during the persistence of the kingdom of Israel, continued to be its great place of worship. We have remarkable accounts of the denunciations by prophets of the new order of things, and predictions of the future destruction and desecration of the new altars. It must be noted, however, that some critics consider these narratives were written after the fulfilments they describe. When Ahab, however, departed

from even the calf-worship in which Jehovah had been symbolised, and introduced the gods of his wife Elijah. Jezebel's native kingdom of Sidon with many impure and licentious rites, the Gileadite Elijah suddenly appeared before the king and denounced God's vengeance upon him, and predicted a prolonged drought. At some time undefined, Jezebel had ordered the complete destruction of the prophets of Jehovah; and it was against such a persecution that Elijah had to make headway, and finally triumphed. The miracles related in regard to Elijah's preservation are emphatic testimonies to his greatness and to the belief of a later age; and the supreme scene on Carmel is one of the most marvellous and impressive in Biblical records. Like Moses, Elijah was privileged to obtain a nearer sight of the Divine glory and power than other mortals; and to the account of this we are indebted for a phrase which has become proverbial for the inward voice of conscience. But it is unnecessary here to dilate on so well-known a story, especially as no new truths appear to have been revealed by Elijah. The impression he made upon his countrymen is shown by the fact that centuries afterwards it was expected that the calamities of the country were only to be remedied by his reappearance. He was a hero-combatant for the truth against kings and false priests—a witness of the first rank for the Invisible and for the purity of worship. That miracles were ascribed to him is a matter of course, whether on the one hand we believe that such events, in fact, took place as part of the Divine dispensation, or whether, on the other hand, we regard it as the inveterate habit of mankind to ascribe supernatural deeds to those whom they stamp as supremely great.

Elisha, his successor, is an example, in some marked instances, of religious tolerance, in his intercourse with foreign kings, and especially in the permission Elisha. he gave to Naaman to continue his attendance in the temple of Rimmon. But he chiefly appears as “a worker of prodigies, a predictor of future events, a revealer of secrets and things happening out of sight, or at a distance.” (“Dictionary of the Bible.”) Thus we

see in him, to some extent, a reversion to the type of diviner, soothsayer, and seer. "It is difficult to help believing" (according to the same authority), "that the anecdotes of his life were thrown into their present shape at a later period." And this, too, accounts, no doubt, for some of the marvels related of him.

In entire consistency with the work of Elijah in denouncing Baal-worship, but extending his denunciations **Amos, Hosea, and Joel.** to every form of departure or derogation from pure worship of Jehovah, we come to the cycle of prophets at the end of the ninth and in the eighth centuries B.C., Amos, Hosea, and Joel. They give important testimony to the fact that, together with noisy feasts, festivals, and sacrifices to Jehovah, there co-existed much image and calf-worship in His name, as well as Baal and Ashera worship, with licentious rites; and witchcraft and soothsaying abounded. Against these evils they protested mightily, as their books show, meeting with great opposition because they predicted the downfall of Israel unless

these things were amended. Their conception of the character of Jehovah is most lofty. He is the one God, pure and holy, desiring spiritual worship, and the practice of mercy and righteousness by His servants. Festivals and assemblies are denounced. "I desire mercy, and not sacrifices," is the keynote of their teaching. "Intemperance and luxury, oppression of the poor, of widows and orphans, unjust appropriation of another's goods, dishonesty in trade, the sordid pursuit of gain, harshness towards debtors—these are some of the sins which the prophets combat zealously." But although judgments and calamities are announced, hope is given of a glorious future. The language of Hosea is quoted by St. Paul as describing the conversion of the Gentiles; he speaks of a time when Israel shall be betrothed to God for ever. In one passage there is a promise of ransom from the power of the grave.

Joel was a prophet of Judah as Hosea was of Israel. In view of a terrible series of calamities then occurring or impending, he exhorted the people to repent and return to Jehovah, when an era of prosperity would again



JEREMIAH AT THE GATE, DENOUNCING JUDGMENT UPON JERUSALEM.

dawn; after which God would extend the blessings of His religion to all lands. A glowing vision is depicted of a future time, when the "Spirit of the Lord" should be poured out, attended by great wonders and a gathering of all nations. Many expressions of this prophet are interpreted of the outpouring on the Day of Pentecost, and of numerous events in Christian history. Amos, after all his denunciations, concludes with a prediction of the future restoration of Israel to power and greatness after calamity.

It is now so generally agreed that the prophetic book entitled "Isaiah" is composed of two portions at least, **Isaiah: two authors.** written by different authors (i. to xxxix., xl. to lxvi.), that we shall only briefly note the points which are regarded as deciding this. Isaiah wrote at Jerusalem, and lived in the reigns of Uzziah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah: while the second writer, plainly and throughout, belongs to the period of the exile. The Babylonian captivity is presupposed as having already lasted a long time. The work is written to comfort the exiles. In it Jerusalem is depicted in ruins, Judæa is ravaged and depopulated, and the nation is captive. Cyrus is spoken of as the destined deliverer of the people, and as a contemporary. Although there are undoubted resemblances between the two writers, it is claimed that this only shows that the later writer had assimilated the spirit of the former; while there are certain strong divergences of style. But yet there are serious difficulties in explaining why the later book was incorporated with the earlier, and why there is no mention of its author's name.

The Book of Isaiah proper, containing discourses or narratives of diverse dates, is not arranged chronologically, and does not appear to have been arranged by the author. Many critics believe that several portions were written by a different hand. The main topic of Isaiah is denunciation of wickedness, both in Judah and in other nations, and the punishments which will follow. Many passages describe the idolatry and the image-worship of his time, and the

**Main topics
of first
portion.**

excess of offerings and feasts to Jehovah, compared with the lack of justice and mercy. He pictures a high ideal of a righteous character, scorning bribes and abhorring bloodshed, speaking truth, and doing justly. He has a special dislike to the lofty and proud, all of whom, he says, shall be brought low. He definitely predicted the captivity in Babylon to Hezekiah.

In Isaiah's view, "A marvel or miracle," says Professor Robertson Smith,¹ "is a work of Jehovah directed to confound the religion of formalism, to teach men that Jehovah's rule is a real thing, and not a traditional convention to be acknowledged in formulas learned by rote; and the mark of such a work is not that it breaks through laws of nature—a conception which had no existence for Isaiah—but that all man's wisdom and foresight stand abashed before it. The whole career of Assyria is part of the marvel that confounds the hypocrisy and formalism of Judah." (See Isa. xxix. 13, 14.

One of Isaiah's favourite phrases is "the Holy One of Israel," and his conception of God predominantly sets forth His majesty and holiness. Very grand is his view of the universal worship of Jehovah "at the end of the days," with its accompaniment of universal peace (ii. 2-4); but he rises still higher in the "Im-^{Immanuel}manuel" predictions, in chapters vii. and ix. ^{predictions} Often held to be a clear prediction of the birth of Christ of a virgin, scholars point out that the word used in vii. 14 is not the ordinary Hebrew word for virgin, and is not exclusively applicable to one who was unmarried: the Revised Version offers in the margin the alternative rendering "maiden." Professor Driver remarks, in his valuable "Isaiah: his Life and Times," "The language of Isaiah forces upon us the conviction that the figure of Immanuel is an ideal one, projected by him upon the shifting future—upon the nearer future in chapter vii., upon the remoter future in chapter ix., but grasped by the prophet as a living and real personality, the Guardian of his country now, its Deliverer and Governor hereafter.

¹ Robertson Smith, "Prophets of Israel," p. 315.

. . . It is the Messianic King, whose portrait is here, for the first time in the Old Testament, sketched distinctly. Earlier prophets or psalmists had told of the promises bestowed upon David, and had spoken of the permanence thus assured to David's line, but by Isaiah these comparatively vague hopes are more closely defined, being centred upon a concrete personality, to whose character we shall find fresh traits added more than thirty years afterwards in chapter xi."

We cannot detail the successive prophecies and warnings of Isaiah as relating to the history of Israel: but all through his public life he exhibited in perfection that admirable character of the true statesman given four centuries later by Demosthenes, in his oration "On the
Isaiah and Jewish history. Crown," that of "discerning events in their beginnings, being beforehand in the selection of movements and tendencies, and forewarn-

ing his countrymen accordingly; fighting against the political vices of procrastination, supineness, ignorance, and party jealousy; and impressing on all the paramount importance of unity, and the duty of providing promptly for their country's needs." His predictions were by no means always realised; and many of them, while not receiving the contemporary fulfilment he expected, have been but partially fulfilled in the Messianic kingdom, or still wait their realisation. Speaking in a religious sense, it may be said that the ideals he described, the glowing and pure visions which he projected upon the

His grand predictions. future, are more important than the literal fulfilments of them which have yet been seen, and which have differed very materially from what he appears to have expected. Isaiah's descriptions of the majesty and holiness of the Divine Being, the certainty of His pure and just judgments, the imperishableness of the Divine kingdom of Zion, the exquisite consummation of the Messianic kingdom, remain among the very greatest treasures of the religious soul of mankind. The ingathering of the Gentiles to the Divine kingdom is predicted in very detailed language. The literary characteristics of Isaiah are so well known that it is unneces-

sary to dwell on them; by common consent, Isaiah reaches the front rank in the Old Testament.

Although not in chronological sequence, it is convenient to deal here with the great unknown who wrote the latter part of the Book of Isaiah, in the period of the Babylonish exile of the Jews, in the sixth century B.C., when, as the prophet writes, Jerusalem and the temple were in ruins, the Babylonian empire was apparently secure, and the exiles were in despair or indifferent, thinking God had forgotten them. This period, like other critical seasons, produced its great genius, able to rouse his people to their mission, to raise among them a high ideal, and to present pictures of a future which would more than compensate for the miseries of the past. The period within which those prophecies may most reasonably be believed to have been written is 549-538 B.C., during which Cyrus was growing in success and fame. Comfort is proclaimed for the people of Jehovah, and God's glory and power in laying low human pride are set forth. Israel's oppressors are mortal; Jehovah will return to Zion as a Conqueror, bringing back His people. A magnificent description of the power of Jehovah is forcibly contrasted with the impotence of the gods and idols of the heathen. Even Cyrus's career of conquest was ordered and controlled by Jehovah.

The second
Isaiah, or
"Great
Unknown."

Later date.

Prediction
of return
from exile.

In chapter xlii. a new figure is introduced, destined to be the most striking in the book, the "Servant of Jehovah," an ideal personage invested with the grandest characteristics of the Israelites, and with others in addition, and destined to exert a world-wide influence. He is to teach the world true religion, and to effectually restore Israel. Here we find a full prevision of the ingathering of the non-Israelite world into the true worship of Jehovah. Later we see that the "Servant" lives by no means wholly in the future, for it is said, "Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I send?" evidently referring to the Israelites' supineness at the time. One of the

The
"Servant of
the Lord."

most interesting passages to students of early customs is the first half of the forty-fourth chapter, describing in a satirical spirit the laborious stages of the manufacture of idols. But Israel is pardoned, and Cyrus is

Cyrus. commissioned to permit the restoration of the people and the rebuilding of the temple, in order that it may be known throughout the world that Jehovah is the true and only God. "Unto Me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear." Throughout Cyrus is regarded favourably, and the coming humiliation of Babylon and her idols is predicted and rejoiced in. Incidentally we learn much about contemporary Babylonish customs.

In the second division of the prophecy (chaps. xlix.-lvii.), Babylon, Cyrus, and contemporary history fall into the background, and the character of "the **Description of the** Servant of the Lord" is more fully developed. "Far-off nations are invited to listen, and a careful delineation is given of the great Ideal Servant, "Israel, in whom I will be glorified." The "Servant" describes himself at first in the first person, and later he is depicted in the third person. He is to be "a light to the Gentiles," as well as the restorer of Israel. He describes himself as the prophet, teaching what he is taught, capable of sustaining the weary with his words, receiving daily fresh inspiration, and shrinking from no humiliation. "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting."

Zion is called upon to awake, and put on splendid apparel: the waste places of Jerusalem are to rejoice: a happy and comfortable return journey shall be made. Then, in lii. 13 to liii. 12, we have the **His humiliation and death.** exquisitely pathetic picture of the Ideal Servant's humiliation, his lack of outward beauty and general recognition, his suffering for Israel's sins, his calm and humble demeanour before his accusers, his death as a malefactor. "But out of death will spring a new life: after his soul has been made a guilt-offering, he will live again, enjoy long life, and be rewarded with the satisfaction of seeing God's work, or 'pleasure,' prospering in

his hand. Possessed of an intimate 'knowledge' of the dealings and purposes of Jehovah, he will 'justify the many' (viz., by a method or principle based upon this knowledge); whilst his final reward for having submitted to the death of a transgressor will be that he will be reckoned as a conqueror, and honoured amongst the great ones of the earth" (Driver). Nothing is more clear than that vicarious suffering, the suffering of **Vicarious suffering.** the "Servant" for the people, is here set forth.

"The central point," says Orelli, "is the realising of ideas foreshadowed in the sacrificial ritual. There certainly substitution is a common idea; there the guiltless lamb suffers for the sinner's good; there a penitential or compensatory offering must be given to God for transgressions. To that which these customs and ordinances typically and unconsciously foreshadowed, this prophecy gives a conscious reference to something future, at the same time severing those great Divine ideas from the inadequate embodiment of the Levitical ritual, and holding forth the prospect of their adequate expression in a higher sphere." This "Servant" cannot exclusively represent either Israel as a whole or in part, or any prophet; yet in some ways all of these may be found related to the conception. It was not an abstract conception, but a concrete living figure, more perfect than any man ever had been, that stood before the prophet's vision; and the vast majority of students, as well as of the unlearned, who take plain and not fanciful or preconceived views, hold that the "Servant of Jehovah" can only be referred to and find fulfilment in one great subsequent figure, the Founder of Christianity. However considerably such words as those of chapter lv. may be referred directly to the return of the Jews from exile, it passes the bounds of reason or compulsion to induce Christians to reject the application of the everlasting covenant and the calling of the Gentiles to their religion, developed out of Judaism.

When we enter upon the third division of the prophecy, we yet again find an enlargement of view. The vision of Zion grows more and more detailed, more beautiful, more glorious. In chapter lx. an unsurpassed picture of

the future glory is drawn, when Jehovah should reign in utter splendour, the people all righteous: a day not yet come, but a picture which inspires the efforts and the hopes of millions at this day, as connected with, and to be perfectly fulfilled by, the labours of the "Servant of the Lord," as expressed in chapter lxi. "There will be new heavens and a new earth," they read; a transformed life, without vain strife, bitter disappointments, or carking care, shall then be lived. The continual competition of the struggle for existence will be over then, and however good its results may have been, few out of the earth's millions fail to catch some of the prophet's exultation in reading the prophecy of universal peace and happiness. In the midst of his discourses, and repeatedly, the prophet lays stress on Sabbath observance and obedience to the laws about food; and the book closes with a severe denunciation of those who have refused to join in Jehovah's worship. "They (the worshippers) shall go forth to see the corpses of the people who fell away from me: for their worm shall not die, and their flame shall not be quenched; and they shall be a horror to all flesh:" a picture which, read as that of a hell of torment, has had very great influence. So many are the points of original theology, as well as of history, that may be drawn from this great book, that we cannot do more than refer to such books as those of Driver, Orelli, and Cheyne, and others, for their fuller treatment.

At the same time as Isaiah, in the reign of Hezekiah, Micah, a plain countryman, added to his warnings and prophecies of destruction the vivid pictures which remain in his book, revealing to us, as a man of the common people himself, the sufferings of the peasantry at the hands of their oppressors, men of their own nation, and predicting the destruction of the government and the nobles. A new Davidic king was to reign over a future purified Zion, in which all nations should worship, and universal peace should ensue. He would be born in Bethlehem Ephrathah, the home of David, and put down all iniquity and idolatry.



ANCIENT JEWISH SYNAGOGUE.

Only brief mention must be made of Jeremiah, the prophet of the later days of the Jewish monarchy, because, while he denounced sin, predicted events, and endured bitter persecutions, he contributed little in comparison with Isaiah to the development of the intellectual features of the Jewish religion. He affirmed in a few places the Davidic kingly ideal, who is to bear the name Jehovah our Righteousness, and the introduction of a new spiritual covenant, when Jehovah's law should be written in the hearts of the people. We cannot here discuss his possible relation to the Torah (or Book of Deuteronomy?), which Hilkiah, possibly his father, discovered and brought out to Josiah. His influence on his time, and his importance in the history of his time, were very great, and his character was profoundly worthy of study.

Ezekiel, the prophet of the early days of the captivity (early in the sixth century B.C.), was a yet more powerful influence, in rousing and keeping alive the national and religious feelings of the captives, in predicting events concerning Israel and surrounding nations with singular vividness and truth, and by reason of his visions of a restored kingdom of Israel, and a Divine future. Ezekiel's marvellous opening vision, in which he received his prophetic call, includes a grand description of a Divine majesty and court, which had great effect upon the imagery of the New Testament Apocalypse. In his later prophecies he again and again speaks in language of gorgeous but mysterious imagery, in describing the Divine glory and wonderful works. The Davidic king of the restored people, and the happy state of the future Jews who serve God, are gloriously depicted; and a complete description of a new temple, differing in many details from the old, is given, with many features of a newly organised State and ritual. The ark and the high-priest are not mentioned; prominence is specially given to the morning burnt-offering; and the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles are the only great feasts mentioned. No prophet more vigorously expressed the sense of sin and denunciation of sin than Ezekiel.

On the Book of Daniel it is necessary to be brief, because of the wide diversities of opinion about the book, and the very unsettled state of the controversies to which it has given rise. Whether it was written at the date which it professes to describe, and was edited or added to later, or was written at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, or later, it is difficult to decide with certainty. It shows a more or less accurate knowledge of Babylonia, probably some influence of Persia and Zoroastrianism, and certainly an acquaintance with Greek names of musical instruments. The book includes besides its historical narratives, remarkable **Predictions** as to the empires of the world, which to a considerable extent were **as to empires of the world.** realised. Under the image of the "Ancient of Days," in Eastern poetry used of an old man, a Divine Judge and Ruler is portrayed reigning in unequalled majesty for ever; and there is a special prophecy of the coming of the Prince Messiah in seventy weeks (usually interpreted as 490, or 70 x 7 years), after which the Messiah should be cut off. Other circumstantial prophecies have received very various interpretations. The book also contains a definite prediction of a resurrection **Prediction of resurrection.** from the dead at a future time. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

Other very distinctive prophets are Haggai and Zechariah, who came forward in Jerusalem after the return of the Jews from Babylon to encourage them to rebuild the temple. The first eight chapters of Zechariah deal with this period, and the coming freedom of Israel and discomfiture of the heathen. In chapter iii. we find a description of the accuser, or "the Satan" or adversary, accusing Joshua, the high-priest before Jehovah. The high-priest, however, is purified, and receives a promise involving the future appearance of "the Servant of God the Branch," the Messiah. In

accordance with the style of many of the prophets, there are visions of chariots and horses going through the earth to execute Jehovah's will. The second part of the book is apparently later in date and by another author, and depicts Jehovah's will accomplished on Syria, Assyria, **Messianic prophecies.** and Egypt. The Messianic prophecies are renewed and amplified. Zion is bidden to rejoice: "Behold thy King cometh unto thee; He is just, and saved; afflicted, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt, the foal of an ass"; and a great future is predicted for his people. Later is a prophecy of the domination of foreign kings over Israel through native princes. Jerusalem would be destroyed, and the people dispersed into all lands. At another time "they shall look upon Me (or Him) whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for Him, as one mourneth for his only son. . . . In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness." Living waters should go out of Jerusalem, and Jehovah should be King over all the earth. "In that day shall the Lord be One, and His name One." Finally there is a vision of a universal annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when everything should be sacred to Jehovah.

There can be no question about the great importance and the definiteness of the predictions in Zechariah about a future deliverer and king of the Jews. The second portion of the book appears to date from a time when the Greeks had begun their conquests in Asia, for the sons of Javan, *i.e.*, the Greeks, are named as the representatives of the heathen powers.

Haggai, the contemporary of Zechariah, agrees with him in predicting a period when the sacred temple would have greater glory than the preceding one, by **Haggai** reason of the splendid offerings of the Gentiles, and says that the calamities of heathen nations would give peace to Jerusalem. Christians usually identify "the desire of all nations" with the Messiah; but it is significant that this passage is not quoted in the Gospels as a Messianic prediction; and in the "Speaker's Com-

mentary" it is not claimed as such, although every Christian will recognise the peculiar applicability and fulfilment of many of the phrases in the person of Christ.

Passing over the other minor prophets, who, while contributing according to their mission to the Messianic tradition, the rousing and sustaining influences of patriotism, the denunciation of sin and of wicked heathen nations, did not add notably to the religious ideas of the nation, we come to Malachi, who prophesied apparently in the later time of Nehemiah. In a simpler and less elevated style than many of his predecessors, he denounces the sins prevalent in his time, and predicts the advent of a messenger, to prepare the way for the arrival of the Lord whom they sought, evidently the Messiah. He would be like a refiner's fire, who would purify the sons of Levi. A Sun of Righteousness was to arise for those that feared Jehovah, with healing in his wings. The prophet Elijah would be sent to them before the coming of the great and dreadful day of Jehovah; and he would turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers, "lest I come and smite the earth with a curse;" and so ends the Old Testament, "the record of the period in which the religion of Israel continued to grow, and develop new principles, to gain new insight into the ways of God with man."





FEAST OF TABERNACLES. IN THE "BOOTH."

CHAPTER V.

Judaism after the Prophets.

Dispersion of the Jews—The Septuagint—The Apocrypha—Ecclesiasticus—The "Wisdom of Solomon"—The Messianic hope—Influence on New Testament phraseology—The Psalter of Solomon—Philo of Alexandria—His relation to Greek philosophy—His views on the Old Testament—His philosophy of the Godhead—Divine Ideas—The Logos—Man's Nature—Philo's allegorical interpretations—The Scribes—Sanhedrim—Hillel and Shammai—Discussions on the Sabbath—Purity and impurity—The Talmud—Mishna and Gemara—The Talmud and Christianity—Gems of the Talmud—Unsatisfactory contents—The Pharisees—Principal beliefs—The Sadducees—The Essenes—Later Dispersion of the Jews—Maimonides—His Creed—Later works—His beliefs—Jews in Spain and Portugal—Persecution and isolation—Moses Mendelssohn—Reforms—Napoleon and the French Jews—Jews in England—In various countries—The Beni Israel.

THE decadence of Israel paved the way for the coming of Jesus. The fall of the temporal power fixed the people's minds upon the promise of the Messiah and a renewed pre-eminence for the chosen people.

The same occurrences led to a growing dispersion of the Jews in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, which prepared the way for the spread of Christianity. In Egypt especially, the Jews came under the influence of Greek culture and philosophy, and under the first Ptolemies (third century B.C.), possibly the entire Old Testament, and certainly the Pentateuch, was translated at Alexandria into Greek, constituting the Septuagint version, which is so precious as an early testimony and check to the Hebrew text, and which was almost exclusively used and quoted by the New Testament writers. It may be regarded as the result of a need felt by the foreign Jews of a translation in the language they commonly used. Whether in fact there is anything in the tradition which says that the Septuagint was the work of seventy (or seventy-two) translators, cannot now be ascertained. The books included in the Septuagint, however, are more numerous than those of the Hebrew Bible; and these additions are another proof of the literary activity and Greek culture of the Jews, both in Alexandria and in Palestine, previous to the time of Christ. Only one or two of the books of the "Apocrypha," or Septuagint additions to the Old Testament, were originally composed in Hebrew. It is not necessary here to discuss the contents of the Apocryphal books, excepting so far as they illustrate the religious state or development of the Jews.

The most interesting and oldest book of the Apocrypha is that known as the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, or *Ecclesiasticus*. It was first written in Hebrew in Palestine, probably in the second century B.C., and is a continuation of the "wisdom-writings" of the Old Testament, in a less spiritual form. Of its author scarcely anything is known, except that he was a sage who had travelled much and had gone through great personal dangers. The book is mainly devoted to the

praise of Wisdom, which he had sought from his early days, and to the vindication of the ways of God to man. He sees the wisdom of God in creation, in Providence, in history, and in the Scriptures. The Law is to him the highest manifestation of Wisdom; and its observance is the foremost duty. Wisdom is the earliest creation of God, and the understanding of Wisdom is identical with the fear of God. Hence Wisdom is true happiness. God is omniscient, almighty, and irresistible; and His predestination determines everything. In the end, right-doing will inevitably be blessed. The sorrows and sufferings of the righteous are not without consolation, like those of the wicked. Mercy is specially shown to the poor and needy, the prayerful, penitent, and merciful. It is singular, however, how far the son of Sirach was from realising the doctrine of immortality. Mankind after death are imagined as lying in eternal sleep; and in other respects the writer of Ecclesiasticus shows himself to be on a much lower level than the writers of the canonical books. Almsgiving and prayer are his main dependences, though he enjoins observance of the Temple services. On the whole, religion is upheld as the thing that is most profitable, and the reward for righteousness is in the main earthly. Strange to say, we find no trace of an expected personal Messiah: though the author refers to coming judgments on the Gentiles, the ingathering of all Israel, and their triumph. Many critics believe that the book contains much that was not the writer's own, but was derived from previous sages.

The other important religious book in the Apocrypha, **The "Wisdom of Solomon"** (written in Greek), **of Solomon.** is of much later date, for the writer quotes the Septuagint; but he makes no reference to Christian writings or history. The date of the book has been variously placed between 220 B.C. and A.D. 40, and Archdeacon Farrar inclines to accept the latter date, believing that the book shows traces of the influence of Philo. Some have suggested that it was written by Apollos. In assuming the personality of King Solomon, the author was adopting a common literary device of his age, and

an appropriate one, as the name of Solomon had become identified with Jewish proverbial wisdom. The author was apparently an Alexandrian Jew, acquainted both with the Septuagint and with Greek literature and philosophy. His knowledge of various forms of nature-worship is well shown in chap. xiii., but striking tolerance is manifested in verse 6, where we read, "for this they are the less to be blamed; for they peradventure err, seeking God, and desirous to find Him; for being conversant in His works, they search Him diligently, and believe their sight: because the things are beautiful that are seen." Yet he tells such persons that they ought, while reverencing things of beauty and signs of power, to understand how much better the Lord and Creator of them is. Worship of manufactured idols, or of stones is crushingly denounced, as well as ancestor and king-worship. Throughout, the writer is keen in exposing the folly of the inferior or degraded religions he saw around him, and so far reaches a high level. Neither could philosophy, he maintains, teach the true ideal of God. His object is to show, that, while sin leads to punishment and death, wisdom is the source of all blessings of life and immortality. Such expressions as "God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of His own eternity;" "the righteous live for evermore, and the care of them is with the most High. Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand," show the essence of his teaching about immortality. The evil are to undergo retribution after death, in a state which is not quite clearly unfolded.

The Messianic hope, however, in the Book of Wisdom, is reduced to a hope in the temporal dominion of Israel and the universal worship of Jehovah; and there is "no personal and no suffering Messiah." In many ways the author reproduces conceptions made familiar in the Old Testament, but in inferior language and with far less force. The historical allusions by which the influence of Wisdom in history are enforced are tinged by strong preconceived notions about Israel, and by a limited reading of the order of Providence.

The
Messianic
hope.

The sense given to the word "Wisdom" by this writer suggests to the Christian that it is a personification of Christ; but Wisdom is not even thought of by the writer as an incarnate Divine Person, but as the Spirit of God, as the Providence of God, and as the sum of human trustworthy knowledge. It is evident from the varying uses of the word that dogmatic precision must not be sought in the Book of Wisdom; and this no doubt weakens its force, the author not having a strong, clear, definite conception, but using one word in a wide latitude of meanings suited to the imperfection of his mental standpoint. Yet it is evident that the author of "**Wisdom**" had a marked influence on the language **phraseology of the New Testament**; at any rate both use a number of similar special expressions. The words we translate "faith," "hope," "to love" in the Christian sense, and the expression that the just man is the "son of God" are found in Wisdom. The conception of the "visible" as revealing the "invisible," and many other words and phrases used in this book are found in various books of the New Testament, and especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Not the least of its claims to regard are, that it expresses the nature of God as predominantly loving; as in xi. 24, 26, "Thou lovest all the things that are," and "Thou sparest all: for they are Thine, O Lord, Thou lover of souls."

Here we may mention a collection of Psalms not included in the Apocrypha, but regarded as canonical by **The Psalter of numerous early Christian Churches, termed the Solomon. Psalter of Solomon**, apparently written after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. It depicts the sad state of the city and people in a tone of earnest piety based on Pharisaic observances; and it expresses a strong Messianic hope, which is for us its most important feature. Thus it says: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up their king, the son of David, at the time that Thou hast appointed, to reign over Israel Thy servant; and gird him with strength to crush unjust rulers . . . to destroy the lawless nations. . . . He shall divide them by tribes in the land, and no stranger and foreigner shall

dwell with them; he shall judge the nations in wisdom and righteousness. The heathen nations shall serve under his yoke; he shall glorify the Lord before all the earth, and cleanse Jerusalem in holiness as in the beginning. . . . He is pure from sin to rule a great people, to rebuke governors and destroy sinners by his mighty word. In all his days he is free from offence against his God, for he hath made him strong by the Holy Spirit."

What Helleno-Judaism at its best could accomplish, without the light of Christianity, is seen in the writings of Philo of Alexandria, born perhaps in B.C. 20, Philo of Alexandria. and living on to the reign of the Emperor Claudius. Little is known of his life, except that in A.D. 40 he was sent to Rome by the Alexandrian Jews at the head of an embassy, to try and persuade the Emperor Caligula to refrain from claiming divine honour from the Jews. Of this embassy Philo has left a full account. Philo, while well-acquainted with the Septuagint, was even better versed in Greek philosophy of all His relation to Greek Philosophy. schools; and while accepting the literal divine origin of the Old Testament, he sought to explain it in an allegorical fashion, so as to deduce from it the most important results of Greek philosophy, and thus show to the Greeks that Judaism was worthy of their respect and acceptance. He is so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Plato, that it has been said that either Philo platonises or Plato philonises. In his writings he argues not only against scoffers amongst his own people, but against believers in astrology and divination, His views on the Old Testament. and against the Egyptians and their beliefs. His belief in the Old Testament as Divine is so strong that he calls it usually the Sacred and Divine Word, or Divine Oracles; and he treats the Old Testament as forming one inseparable whole, down to the smallest letter. Thus he was not a critic of the Old Testament in the modern sense. He was rather an expounder of its philosophical meaning as he conceived it by the light of Greek philosophy. He claimed that the Jews in the Mosaic revelation possessed the true knowledge of things religious: and he strongly believed

the doctrine of One God, and His absolute sovereignty and supremacy, and that He was to be worshipped without images. He went beyond the limited view that every-



THE PRIESTLY BLESSING. (See page 130.)

thing was to be done by and for the Jews, and regarded the law of Moses as rightfully the law for the whole world; and, according to him, prosperity is promised to all who turn from idols to the true God.

Philo's philosophy of the Godhead is too abstruse to be fully expounded here. He regards God as eternal, absolute, unchangeable, without limitations. Consequently God cannot come into direct contact with finite beings, but He acts by a multitude of divine Ideas or Forces, produced before the visible world, and termed *Logoi*. These he identifies with the *demons* of the Greeks and the angels of the Jews. In this view Philo does not get rid of ambiguity, for while the *Logoi* are immanent in God, they are at the same time regarded as distinct from God. Again, he regards all the individual Ideas, or *Logoi*, as being included in one supreme Logos, or Reason, or Word of God, as the firstborn of God, as the highest mediator between God and the world, and the high-priest for the world before God. Consequently it is through the Logos that the world was created. Thus in one way Philo develops the idea of wisdom found in all the Jewish wisdom-books, while at the same time following Plato's doctrine of ideas and the soul of the world. The bearing which this has upon the consideration of the fourth gospel will be referred to later. There is no doubt that his philosophy exercised a powerful influence on scholars, both Jewish and Christian, for a long time after he wrote.

As to man, Philo treats him as a compound of soul and physical body, the soul being attracted from the pure souls that fill space, the body being the source of sin and evil. Thus the body is a sort of prison for the soul, which longs to rise again to God. Philo considers that man's salvation lies in the direction of the mortification of sensual impulses, he does not follow the Stoics in throwing man upon his personal powers; but he directs him to the help which God will give to men who seek to rise to Him. At death this happy result happens to those who while in the body have kept themselves free from the bondage of the senses and sensuality; while all others must after death enter another body.

Philo carries allegorical interpretation very far, and, no

doubt, displays remarkable ingenuity; there is nothing in which he cannot discover a hidden meaning. To take some examples from his interpretation of Genesis: Adam is found to represent pure human reason; Eve, the senses; the serpent, desire. Enoch symbolises man retiring in penitence from the world to God; Noah is the truly righteous man. The Hebrews represent pilgrims from the world of sense to that of spirit; the ark of the covenant is the intellectual world, the two cherubs over it are the two chief Logoi next to the Logos. Even the precepts of the law are allegorised throughout. In many of the problems which he stated, and of the solutions he proposes, Philo is the earliest of the commentators and critics, rather than expounders, of the Scriptures.

But while Philo in many ways was an advanced religious thinker,—while he often uses the name Father for God,—he was so far from discerning the signs of his times that he makes but little reference to the Messianic hopes of the Jews; and when he does so, it is in the way of identifying the Logos with the promised Messiah, but transferring all hopes based upon His coming to heaven, thus in fact dissipating that which alone really constituted the Messianic hope of the Jews. He even shows a tendency to rely on quite another kind of mediation, for he recognises as elements in the Jews' hope, in addition to the kindness of God, and personal repentance, the holiness of the patriarchs, who intercede with God for their descendants.

We have already (pp. 34-37, 41) referred to the later organisation of the priests and the existence of the synagogue. We must here briefly notice the elements which developed the extraordinary atmosphere of legalism and formalism which pervaded Jerusalem and Judæa in the time of Christ. This was due, not so much to the priests, who formed a powerful and wealthy aristocracy,

The Scribes. as to the scribes, or persons learned in the law, who from the time of Ezra gradually grew in influence till they attained a commanding position. The law being a direct gift from God, in every detail, its com-

plete observance being incumbent on every Israelite, it became an all-important matter to have a living expositor of all possible cases of question. The same consideration later became, as the canon was completed, extended to all books recognised as prophetic, or as containing the older history of Israel. At first only priests studied and interpreted the law; at some later period it became customary for non-priestly Israelites to take up the study; and as the priests grew more wealthy, and more or less influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by non-Jewish ideas, the *scribes* became marked out as those persons who were specially learned in and zealous for the law, holding their opinions with fanatical strength and obstinacy, and swaying the people by reason of their fanaticism. They were habitually addressed as *Rabbi* (my master), and required from pupils, and also from the public, the most entire reverence and submission. Their decisions were gratuitously rendered, and they were always persons of property or practised some trade. But they always regarded as their main occupation the development of the law in theoretical and practical details, and especially by oral discussions among themselves.

The term *sanhedrim* (derived from the Greek *synedrium*, "assembly,") describes the governing and judicial assembly of the Jews, the native tribunal recognised by foreign powers in later Jewish times. It included the high priest as president, chief priests (mainly Sadducees), scribes, and other notables. It had not the power of capital punishment.

Naturally schools of interpretation gathered about leading scribes, such as Shammai and Hillel. The latter, born at Babylon about 75 B.C., came to Jerusalem in 36, and was chosen president of the Sanhedrim from 30 B.C. to A.D. 10. He had thousands of pupils, and spent his life in endeavouring to give greater precision to the law. Shammai was vice-president when Hillel was president, was often his antagonist in disputes, being less liberal in his views than Hillel, who taught, it is said, that the great aim of life is "to be gentle, showing all meekness to all men," and "when reviled, not to

revile again." The opinions of their two schools, strange to say, were afterwards quoted by the Jews as being of equal authority. It is scarcely possible without reproducing whole sections of the Mishna to give an effective idea of the detail, the ceremoniousness, the minuteness of the points discussed by the scribes. A slight reference

**Discussions
on the
Sabbath.**

to discussions on the Sabbath will give some idea of all this. Thus we find that thirty-nine particular kinds of work were specially forbidden on the Sabbath, including making or untying a knot, writing two letters, sewing two stitches, etc. But each of these was made the subject of elaborate discussion and regulation. For instance, no burden might be carried from one tenement to another, and it was decided by the scribes that it was desecration of the Sabbath to carry as much food as was equal in weight to a dried fig, or as much honey as could be put upon a wound, ink enough to write two letters, etc. So rigidly was Sabbath observance kept up, that the Romans found it necessary to exempt the Jews from military service. Even more minute regulations were devised about cleanness and

**Purity and
impurity**

and uncleanness, and the removal of the latter. Notwithstanding the completeness of the Old Testament regulations, the Mishna contains no fewer than twelve treatises on the subject, discussing the manner in which impurity is contracted, how it may be transferred, what utensils or objects may become unclean, and how they may be purified. The air in an unclean vessel is declared unclean; a minute classification distinguishes between vessels which may and those which cannot become unclean. The correct mode of pouring water on the hands, and the proper modes of cleansing of cups, pots, and dishes, were as zealously discussed as if the whole religious character would be vitiated by failure in one particular; and this, in fact, was openly stated.

The Mishna is the core of the Talmud, the last and more elaborate collection and amplification of the Traditions of the Jewish doctors. It is impossible to say how far the earliest traditional explanations of the Jewish law go back; but the Mishna consists

The Talmud.

mainly of the meditations and decisions of learned rabbis from B.C. 50 to A.D. 150, the name of each rabbi being carefully given. To this is added, in the Talmud, the Gemara or oldest commentary on the Mishna, **Mishna and Gemara.** the discussions on the Mishna of Palestinian or Babylonian Jewish doctors. In both the Palestinian and the Babylonian Talmuds the correctness and the meaning and interpretation of the Mishna are discussed, introducing incidentally references to all other knowledge then possessed. The discussions in the Palestinian Talmud are comparatively simple and brief, but there is mixed with them much valuable information on history, geography, and archæology; while the Babylonian Talmud is long-winded and subtle, and, while much longer than the other, contains far less of outside knowledge. The Jews have always given a higher value to the Mishna than to the Gemara, ranking it scarcely below the Old Testament; for they believe that much of it comes by an unbroken chain of tradition from Moses, who is believed to have received it direct from God. The Talmud was put together in the fifth century A.D.

A very vexed question is the extent of the influence of the Talmud upon Christianity, and the converse. Some would even make out that Christianity owes **The Talmud and Christianity.** many of its leading ideas to the Talmud. If it were so, why was Christianity received with such hostility? If it spoke merely the language of the accepted teachers of the Jews, why was it not received with acclamation? We will quote the claim made by one of the most ardent Talmudists, Emanuel Deutsch: "Such terms as Redemption, Baptism, Grace, Faith, Salvation, Regeneration, Son of Man, Son of God, Kingdom of Heaven, were not, as we are apt to think, invented by Christianity, but were household words of Talmudical Judaism. No less loud and bitter in the Talmud are the protests against lip-serving, against making the law a burden to the people, against 'laws that hang on hairs,' against Priests and Pharisees. That grand dictum, 'Do unto others as thou wouldst be done by,' is quoted by Hillel, at whose death Jesus was ten years of age, not as

anything new, but as an old and well-known dictum, that comprised the whole Law." While not denying or concealing the vast amount of idle legend and allegory contained in the Haggadah or legendary portion of the

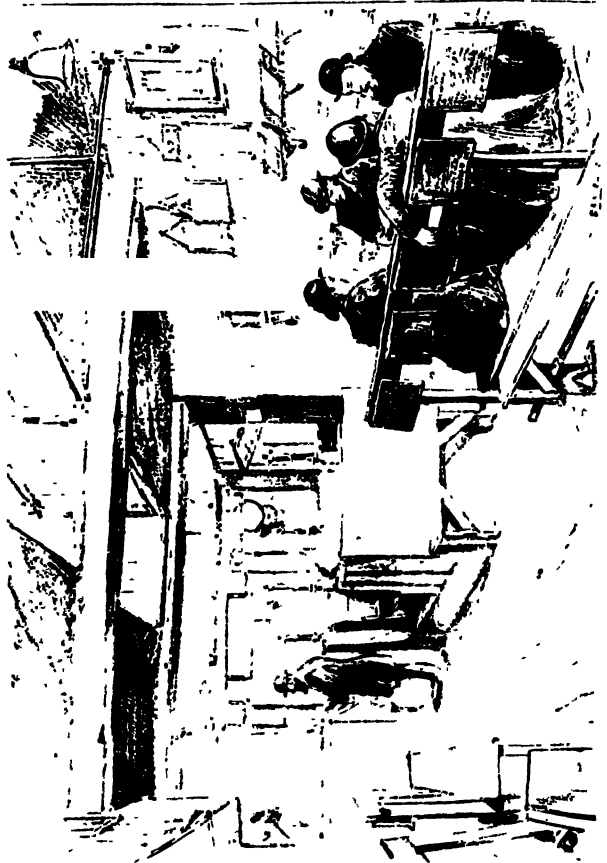


FIG. 1. JEWISH TALKING SHOP (HOUSE OF STUDIES) IN THE EAST END OF LONDON.

commentary. Mr. Deutsch claims that it is the source of much that is most remarkable in the greatest poets. He extracts a metaphysical philosophy from parts of it, describing the gradual development of the Cosmos by

cessive catastrophes, out of an original created substance. Miracles were primevally ordained, and "created," and do not disturb the pre-established harmony of things. The soul is also held to be pre-existent. The Resurrection and Immortality are definitely taught. The righteous continue to develop their best faculties in the next world: "For the righteous there is no rest, neither in this world nor in the next, for they go, say the Scriptures, from host to host, from striving to striving; and they will see God in Zion." As regards eternal punishment, the Talmud does not teach it, but says that idolaters, apostates, and traitors will be punished for "generations upon generations." There is "only two fingers' breadth between Hell and Heaven"; the repentant sinner will be admitted to the latter as soon as he repents. "In the next world there will be no eating, no drinking, no love, and no labour, no envy, no hatred, no contest. The righteous will sit with crowns on their heads, glorying in the splendour of God's majesty."

A few quotations from the choicest passages of the Talmud will still further illustrate its highest flights. "Be thou the cursed, not he who curses. Be **Gems of the** of them that are persecuted, not of them that **Talmud.** persecute." "He who sacrifices a whole offering, shall be rewarded for a whole offering; he who offers a burnt offering, shall have the reward of a burnt offering; he who offers humility unto God and man, shall be rewarded with a reward as if he had offered all the sacrifices in the world." "Even when the gates of heaven are shut to prayer, they are open to tears." "When the righteous dies, it is the earth that loses. The lost jewel will always be a jewel; but the possessor who has lost it, well may he weep." "Even the most righteous shall not attain to so high a place in heaven as the truly repentant." "The dying benediction of a sage to his disciples was: I pray for you that the fear of Heaven may be as strong upon you as the fear of man. You avoid sin before the face of the latter; avoid it before the face of the All-seeing." "Love your wife like yourself, honour her more than yourself." "It is woman alone through whom God's

blessings are vouchsafed to a house. She teaches the children, speeds the husband to the place of worship and instruction, welcomes him when he returns, keeps the house godly and pure, and God's blessing rests upon all these things. He who marries for money, his children shall be a curse to him." "The house that does not open to the poor shall open to the physician. Even the birds in the air despise the miser. He who gives charity in general is greater than Moses himself." "Let the honour of thy neighbour be to thee like thine own. Rather be thrown into a fiery furnace than bring any one to public shame." "He who humiliates himself will be lifted up; he who raises himself up will be humiliated. Whosoever runs after greatness, greatness runs away from him: he who runs from greatness, greatness follows him." "Whosoever does not persecute them that persecute him, whoever takes an offence in silence, he who does good because of love, he who is cheerful under his sufferings—they are the friends of God, and of them the Scripture says, 'and they shall shine forth as does the sun at noon-day.' "

Granting that these extracts are correctly translated, we have no proof that any of them date back as early as the time of Christ. In any case the book has had nothing like the effect of the New Testament; and this is intelligible when we realise the mass of puerile arguments, silly and indecent stories, impossible notions and petty details that the Talmud contains. The selection of the editor or editors, equally with the minds of the scribes who are responsible for many of its passages, was greatly at fault. Archdeacon Farrar, in his "Life of Christ," says, "Anything more utterly unhistorical than the Talmud cannot be conceived. It is probable that no human writings ever confounded names, dates, and facts with a more absolute indifference." In reading it we can understand the point of the saying of Jesus, that the scribes had made the law of no effect through their traditions.

The Pharisees were the party who, without necessarily being scribes, devoted themselves with fanatic ardour to

the observance of all the minutest particulars of the Mosaic law and of the traditions, which gradually became more binding even than the law. ^{The} ~~The~~ ^{Pharisees.} term means "one who is separated;" and the Pharisees undoubtedly formed a distinctive order of people, devoted to the observance of the Levitical laws and the tradition. It would appear that every one wishing to be recognised as a Pharisee had to promise before three others that he would pay full tithes on everything, and eat nothing that had not been tithed, and that he would scrupulously observe all the laws of ceremonial purity. Thus, practically, Pharisaism was one great system of "taboo," by which the members made themselves a sacred caste. When it is realised that the full tithes meant, at least, a double tithe, and that the ceremonial laws of Leviticus and the Mishna involved the most burdensome restrictions and brought a man into continual danger of contracting ceremonial impurity; that every one who did not obey these laws was reckoned as lost, we can see the force of the denunciations contained in Matthew xxiii. Pharisees might not become the guests of a non-Pharisee, nor receive him as a guest, nor buy or sell from or to him. Including, as they did, a very large proportion (six thousand) of the leading Jews at the time of Christ, it is evident that they were then the orthodox Jewish party by whose standard Jesus was mainly judged. They were also the popular party, for they held high the position and responsibilities of every member of the Jewish nation, and disdained any compromise with the foreign ruler. They taught that every man might become a true member of the priesthood, though not belonging to the priestly caste, by studying and conforming to the law. They considered themselves the guardians of the law and the customs of the Jews, and believed that they would be protected as a peculiar people through all dangers. But while they imposed strict rules, and severely condemned their infraction, they had devised many plans for evading those which they found inconvenient, and they made many of their observances occasions for public display of their righteousness or ostentatious claim to the highest

regard of the common people. They were generally to be recognised by the sacred tassels upon their garments, and the wearing of little rolls (phylacteries) inscribed with words from the law on the arm or forehead and neck, and by their public demonstrations of praying in the streets. The wearing of these phylacteries being supposed to be enjoined in Exodus xiii. 9-16, they became in time regarded as most valuable, protecting the wearers from evil thoughts.

A few principal beliefs of the Pharisees may be mentioned. According to Josephus, they held that every **Principal** soul is imperishable; but that the souls of **beliefs.** good men only pass over into another body, while the souls of bad men are chastised by eternal punishment. But that they believed in anything like the Oriental transmigration of souls, cannot be proved. Rather, from references in the New Testament, they appear to have believed in the resurrection of the body, and a future judgment. The Mishna, which they upheld, states that "he who says that the resurrection of the dead is not to be inferred from the law, has no part in the world to come." They believed in angels and spirits, and in the powerful influence of fate and Divine providence; yet "some things depend on the will of man as to whether they are done or not." Their eagerness to secure proselytes to their views may be judged from the expression of Jesus, that they would "compass sea and land" to make one proselyte. Within their ranks was to be found much sensuality, greed, and selfishness. They contemned the common and degraded classes of people, and shunned any communication with them, and hence they were especially subject to the censure of Jesus.

The great opponents of the Pharisees were the Sadducees, who chiefly consisted of the more influential and wealthy priestly families, especially those from which the high priest had been chosen for many years before the time of Christ. They clung to the ancient privileges of their order, and to the legal observances of the law, while they rejected the Mishna

and the decisions of the scribes. Consistently with this, they rejected the doctrines of the resurrection and of future retribution, which are not found distinctly in the Pentateuch; they disbelieved in angels and spirits; and they held that man's conduct is entirely in his own power, not coerced by fate or Providence, and that man is the cause of his own prosperity and adversity. They, however, conformed largely to the views of the majority as formulated by the Pharisees, especially in the matter of sacrifices and ritual, while they did not conceal their indifference to many of the observances which yet, as chief priests, they carried out. They were considerably imbued with Greek culture, and, in the main, upheld the Roman power. Consequently, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and the whole Jewish State, their influence fell, never to rise again, for it had within it no seeds of hope or of growth.

The Essenes were a remarkable body of ascetics who became numerous in the century before Christ, and who endeavoured to fulfil the injunctions of the law by withdrawal from the world, celibacy, and austerity of life. They resembled the monastic orders of Christians and Buddhists rather than a sectarian party. In their strict regard for the law, and their extreme care for ceremonial purity, they were like the Pharisees, only aiming at carrying out their views to an extreme degree by forming separate communities with meals in common, community of goods, and a long novitiate. They wore white garments like the priests, bathed before meals and at other times, repudiated marriage as a state of less purity than celibacy, and in all things sought to live a simple natural life. They held no slaves, swore no oaths, did not anoint themselves with oil, and only used the simplest food and drink. They carried on no trade, but worked on the land and at handicrafts for the common benefit. One of the most striking distinctions between them and the rest of the Jews was their giving up of animal sacrifices, though they still sent incense to the Temple at Jerusalem. It is said that they even turned towards the sun when praying, as emblematic of

the Divine light, a very un-Jewish custom, and that other points showed religious regard for the sun. Various students and divines have traced several features of the Essenes to Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and the Greek philosophy of Pythagoras. The two latter seem especially to present points of contact, and neither influence is historically impossible.

The houses in which the Essenes lived were under the control of a president, whom the members were bound to obey. A candidate received at entrance a pickaxe, an apron, and a white garment, and underwent a year's probation, after which he was admitted to the baths; then two more years' probation followed, and he was admitted to the common meals, first taking a tremendous oath binding him to entire openness towards the members, and secrecy towards non-members.

Meanwhile there was already a preparation for that dispersion which, after the fall of Jerusalem, became the **Dispersion of the Jews.** principal fact about the Jews. The process, which had begun with the captivity, was greatly favoured under Alexander the Great's successors, important privileges being granted to the Jews in such cities as Alexandria and Antioch. Even in the second century B.C. it was said that every land and sea was filled with the Jews. In the time of Pompey many settled at Rome, and were granted Roman citizenship. In Caligula's reign they made a grand stand against the emperor-worship, which it was attempted to force on them, undergoing frightful troubles in consequence. In the time of the Emperor Tiberius they began to be persecuted, while the reign of Claudius at its outset was marked by an edict of toleration in their favour. Yet later he prohibited their assemblies. They were often subsequently persecuted, but they increased notwithstanding—a history which has practically characterised them almost ever since. They united into distinct communities wherever they were, cherishing their ancient faith, and maintaining such of its observances as were still possible; and they gradually acquired a recognised standing, and were allowed to be governed by their own

laws throughout the Roman empire. Even the rights of Roman citizenship were conferred upon them in a considerable number of the towns of Asia Minor and Syria. They built synagogues in most of them, using Greek very largely in their services. Tribute was sent to the Temple at Jerusalem as long as it existed. Everywhere they may be considered to have paved the way for Christianity by their worship without images and by their strict observance of the Sabbath, while their limitations as to food were a standing protest against the prevailing indiscriminating indulgence. Many proselytes were made, and no doubt would long have continued to be added, if Christianity had not obtained the ascendant, and displayed greater attractions.

When, in the fourth century, Christianity became the official religion of the Roman empire, the humiliation of the Jews began. With an interval of favour in the reign of Julian the Apostate, they gradually became a downtrodden people. We cannot detail the successive steps of the history, which simply show, in relation to our subject, the persistence of religious faith among a persecuted people. We must assume a general knowledge of their circumstances in successive ages, and pass on to quote the confession of faith drawn up in the 11th century by Moses Maimonides, perhaps the greatest of the mediæval Jews, often called the second Moses.

This remarkable man was born at Cordova, in Spain, in 1135, his father being a Jewish judge and commentator. The youth, besides Hebrew and Greek, studied all the Arabic learning of their palmy ^{Maimonides.} day under Averroës and Ibn-Thofeïl. Under the Moslems of Spain the Jews enjoyed full liberty, and rivalled the Arabs in learning. During a reactionary period in the middle of the century, when Jews were severely persecuted, Maimonides and his family outwardly professed Mahometanism; later he travelled widely, and at last settled at Fostât (Egypt) as a physician. But he found time to write a great commentary on the Mishna, made public in 1168 under the title, "The Book of Light," and designed to simplify and explain the traditional law.

In one part of this work he included the confession of faith mentioned above, which, somewhat abbreviated, is as follows:—

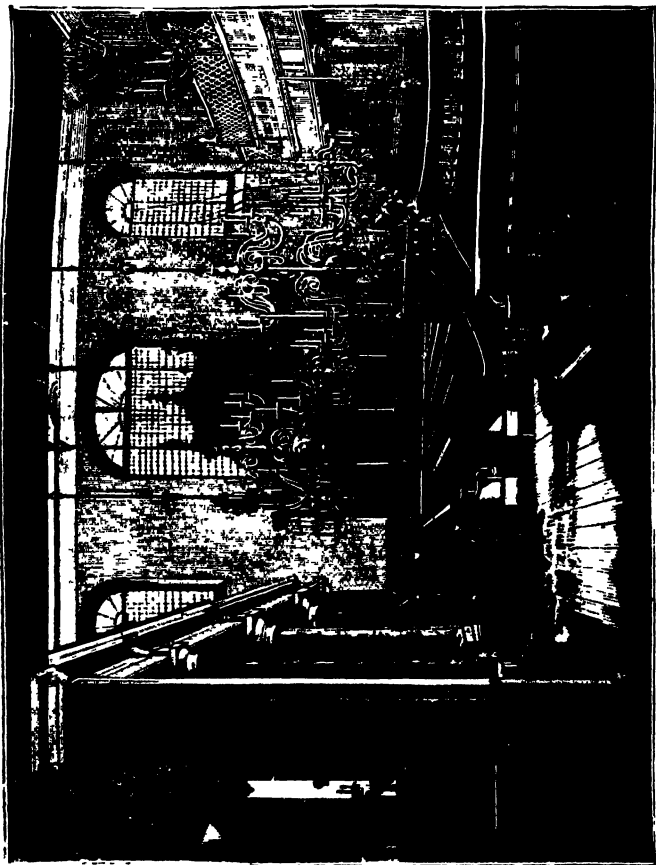
1. "I believe, with a perfect faith" (these words are repeated before all the sections), "that God is the Creator **The creed of** whose name be blessed), Governor, and Maker **Maimonides.** of all creatures: and that He hath wrought all things, worketh, and shall work for ever. 2. That the Creator is one; and that such a unity as is in Him can be found in none other: and that He alone hath been our God, is, and for ever shall be. 3. That He is not corporeal, not to be comprehended with any bodily properties: and that there is no bodily essence that can be likened unto Him. 4. That the Creator is the first and last; that nothing was before Him, and that He shall abide the last for ever. 5. That the Creator is to be worshipped, and none else. 6. That all the words of the prophets are true. 7. That the prophecies of Moses, our master may he rest in peace!, were true: that he was the father and chief of all wise men that lived before him, or ever shall live after him. 8. That all the law which at this day is found in our hands was delivered by God Himself to our master, Moses. 9. That the same law is never to be changed, nor any other to be given us of God. 10. That God understandeth all the works and thoughts of men, as it is written in the prophets: He fashioneth their hearts alike, He understandeth all their works. 11. That God will recompense good to them that keep His commandments, and will punish them who transgress them. 12. That the Messiah is yet to come; and although He retard His coming, yet will I wait for Him till He come. 13. That the dead shall be restored to life when it shall seem fit unto God, the Creator, whose name be blessed and memory celebrated without end. Amen."

In 1170-80 Maimonides wrote a still more extended work, entitled "Deuteronomy, Second Law," really a **Later works.** cyclopædia of every sort of Old Testament and Jewish literature, sometimes described as a new Talmud. In it he brought the rabbinical codes within a

moderate compass, and introduced philosophy and ethics of a type little understood by the Jews before his time. From this time he held, unofficially, a sort of spiritual headship among his people, while at the same time his fame as a doctor brought him a large and important practice. He, however, was able to complete a third great book, "The Guide of the Perplexed," designed to reclaim those who were sceptical about a future world, the destiny of man, and revelation. In it he made a bold endeavour to reconcile the conflicts between religion and philosophy, and he may almost be counted the first of the rationalists. He showed that the sensuous descriptions of the Deity and His actions in the Old Testament must be taken in a spiritual and figurative sense. He further expounded a rational natural religion, proved the existence, unity, and spirituality of God, and the excellence of the Divine law, and discussed free-will, the opposition of good and evil, and the questions relating to the Divine providence and omniscience. As was to be expected, such a work provoked much opposition, and led to great controversy between religion and science, and between the literal Talmudists and his own followers. Finally, about the middle of the 13th century the Christians burned all Maimonides' books, which led to a reconciliation among the Jewish hostile parties. Maimonides died on December 13th, 1204, and was greatly mourned. To him all Jewish religious writers since his date are greatly indebted.

Maimonides was a strong believer in the Old Testament as a Divine revelation, but held that it must be explicable in a rational manner. He believed that it was not enough to keep the law in practice, but **His beliefs.** that its study was a religious duty. He believed firmly in the creation of matter out of nothing, and in the providential guidance of the world. He held that man's will was free, but that providence ruled the destinies of men and of nations in a certain broad manner. Physical laws must be studied, and man must adapt his life and action to them. Only the soul is immortal, he taught: and virtue is rewarded by happiness in the

world to come. "Do not," he says, "allow thyself to be persuaded by fools that God first determines who shall be righteous and who wicked. He who sins has only himself to blame for it, and he can do nothing better



THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE - LONDON

than speedily to change his course. God's omnipotence has bestowed freedom on man, and His omniscience foreknows man's choice without guiding it. We should not choose the good, like children and ignorant people, from

motives of reward or punishment, but we should do good for its own sake, and from love to God; still retribution does await the immortal soul in the future world."

For a long time the Jews in Spain and Portugal, under Moorish rule, enjoyed complete freedom and equality; and their progress in culture and original work was great. While in the middle ages the Jews in Spain and Portugal Christians were persecuting the Jews almost everywhere, and sometimes burning them while they sang hymns as though going to a wedding, in Spain they were in a state of prosperity till the middle of the 14th century. Then followed persecutions and many cruel outrages and martyrdoms. Finally, in 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain ordered the expulsion, within four months, of all who refused to become Christians, at the same time forbidding them to take either gold or silver out of the country. Many then professed Christianity; but several hundred thousands left the country, enduring the greatest privations, and many dying in their journeys. In 1495 King Emanuel of Portugal ordered the Jews to leave his kingdom, but commanded that their children under fourteen should be taken from their mothers and brought up as Christians. "Agony drove the Jewish mothers into madness; they destroyed the children with their own hands, and threw them into wells and rivers, to prevent them from falling into the hands of their persecutors."

The intensity and cruelty of the persecutions which they suffered was perhaps the salvation of the Jews as a separate nationality; although it cannot Persecution and Isolation. be proved that their peculiar faith and rites would not have preserved them largely as a pure race. Everywhere cut off from the rest of the population, limited as to trades and places of residence, forbidden to employ Christian servants or to become members of trade guilds, the Jews grew more and more conservative and peculiar: and their talents, concentrated by isolation, furnished at last an ever-widening stream of original genius to the nations in which they lived. Spinoza, the Humboldts, the Mendelssohns, Heine, Nean-

der, Meyerbeer, the Disraelis, are a few of the remarkable geniuses who have sprung from modern Judaism. Yet the dawn of the modern period was preceded by an age of degradation and mental inferiority which needed the work of vigorous reformers to rouse it into life.



MOSES MENDELSSOHN.

The most important name in the history of modern Jewish elevation and reform is that of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), grandfather of the great composer, **Moses Mendelssohn**. The son of a copier of Biblical writings on parchment, young Mendelssohn, born at Dessau in Ger-

many, was early inspired by the reading of Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed." After a wide general education, he set before himself the improvement of the moral and social condition of his people. While obeying in the letter the Oral Law, Mendelssohn brought into the study of religion all the knowledge and philosophy of his time; and the effect of his writings was to destroy the authority of the Talmud and the rabbinical writers among those who listened to him. His essay, entitled "Phædo, or the Immortality of the Soul," attempted to lay down a new basis for that doctrine. His attitude towards Christianity was so liberal that many of his co-religionists began to look upon him as secretly a Christian himself. In his "Morning Hours" he discussed the existence of God, refuting pantheism, and especially Spinoza's views. He also published German translations and commentaries on several parts of the Old Testament, notably the Pentateuch and the Psalms. In regard to what we may call Church government, his ideas were remarkably liberal; all religion, according to him, being an affair of the heart, it should not be under any control, either of State, Church, or synagogue. At the same time he insisted that "the law of Moses was not a law of faith, but merely of statutes and prohibitions." Religion, he taught, should be propagated purely by conviction, and should never attempt to uphold itself by authority. He recommended his people to take an example of charity from Christians, and love and bear with each other, that they might be themselves loved and tolerated by others. It followed that his influence in promoting the idea of the religious equality of all persons in the eye of the State has been very great. His life and writings benefited both Jews and Christians, and started new schools of thought in philosophy and religious criticism among the Jews. His epitaph, written by Ramler, runs thus: "True to the religion of his forefathers, wise as Socrates, teaching immortality, and becoming immortal like Socrates." The modern Jews have a saying that "from Moses (the law-giver) to Moses (Maimonides), and Moses (Mendelssohn), no one hath arisen like Moses."



WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE, UPPER BECKLEY SQUARE.

One of the reforms which followed Mendelssohn's labours was the revival of the obsolete office of synagogue preacher; at the same time the long prayers and sacred poems of the liturgy were considerably retrenched. Some congregations remained conservative, while new or reformed synagogues were founded, in which modern innovations were practised. Numerous theological seminaries as well as schools were established, and gradually general culture as well as Hebrew learning became much extended among the Jews. Reforms.

In 1790-1 the whole of the French Jews were admitted to equal rights of citizenship with the French people. One of the unique things the Emperor Napoleon did, was to summon a meeting of the Sanhedrim, formally elected by the synagogues of France and Italy. It sat in 1807, and formulated statutes which were regarded as binding by the congregations which sent delegates. Its principal decisions were: (1) That polygamy is forbidden; (2) That divorce is permissible to Jews after legal divorce by the civil authority; (3) That no Jew may perform the ceremony of marriage until legal forms have been fulfilled; and intermarriages with Christians are recognised, though they cannot be performed with Jewish ceremonies; (4) That acts of justice and charity are enjoined towards all mankind, of whatever religion, who recognise the Creator; (5) That Jewish natives of France shall obey the laws of the land, and treat it as their native country; and they are dispensed from ceremonial observances while serving in the army; (6) That Jews shall train their children to useful employments, renounce objectionable callings, and in every way try to gain their neighbours' good-will; (7) That interest shall not be taken where money is lent for the support of a family, but only in commercial undertakings and at legal rates; (8) That the last article, and the texts of Scripture on the subject, apply equally between Jews and their fellow-citizens; and usury is altogether forbidden. Napoleon and the French Jews.

The emperor at the close of the session established a organisation for French Jews. Every two thousand

Jews were formed into a synagogue, and its consistory was to consist of one chief rabbi, two rabbis, and three lay householders. The central consistory of Paris received power to depose the rabbis, and the duties of the rabbis were defined. They were to publish the decrees of the Sanhedrim, to inculcate obedience to the State laws, and to pray in the synagogues for the emperor and his family. Since 1831 the Jewish rabbis have been paid by the French State.



MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL

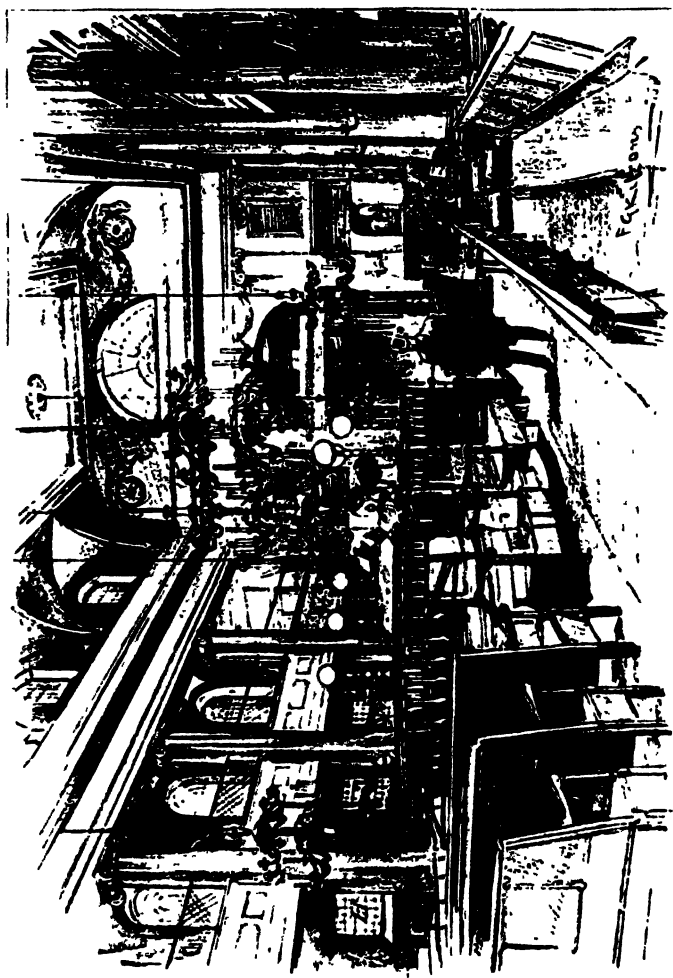
After the Norman conquest the Jews in England. Jews settled in England in considerable numbers, and gradually became most important aids in the financial arrangements of kings and nobles. In 1290, however, they were expelled, and did not return in any number till about the close of the

sixteenth century. They were not formally allowed to settle in this country again until 1657, when Manasseh ben Israel, a rabbi from Amsterdam, obtained a decision from Cromwell's Council of State in their favour. The modern history of the emancipation of the Jews from civil and religious disabilities is well-known. It is estimated that there are between sixty and seventy thousand Jews in England, of whom over forty thousand are in London, chiefly belonging to the Ashkenazim, or German-

Polish section. The Sephardim, or Spanish-Portuguese families, do not increase in number. The Ashkenazim have fourteen synagogues and nineteen minor synagogues, with a chief rabbi; the Sephardim have two synagogues, with an independent chief rabbi. These two differ somewhat in their pronunciation of Hebrew, and in several minor matters of ritual. They have no distinctions of seats in their synagogues, nor lines of demarcation in their cemeteries. There is a still more interesting body, represented by one synagogue only, that of the Reformed British Jews, Upper Berkeley Street, Portman Square, a body founded in 1811 in consequence of a conviction of the necessity for modifying the Jewish service to suit modern ideas. Services are held at later hours, such as 10.30 instead of at 7 and 7.30; an improved and shortened ritual is used, the best portions of the Portuguese and German liturgies being blended. Singing is introduced; but no service, except on the Day of Atonement, exceeds two hours and a half. Sermons in English are given every Sabbath and holy day at morning service. Numerous services on holy days not appointed by Scripture are given up, and only one day of each of the great festivals is observed. They do not acknowledge the authority of the oral law nor that of the chief rabbi. There are similar congregations at Manchester and Bradford.

The Jews are most numerous in Austria (1½ million), where they are now comparatively free and well treated; and in Russia (2½ millions), where they are more harshly treated than in any other country. They number 200,000 in Roumania, many being descendants of Spanish Jews; and among them are many farmers and handicraftsmen. They are numerous in Constantinople and in Asiatic Turkey; there are 25,000 Jews in Smyrna and 30,000 in Bagdad. There are 15,000 in Jerusalem, mainly occupied in studying the Talmud, being supported by their brethren throughout the world. The Jerusalem Jews, who include all branches of the stock, by no means all dress alike. The Sephardim wear ordinary Eastern garb, the Russian and Polish Jews have long silk or cloth gowns and fur caps, while the Germans

retain their national garb of a century ago with a flat wideawake hat. There are several hundred thousand



GALL AT SYNAGOGUE, DUK'S PLACE, ALGERIA.

Jews in Morocco and Tripoli, who in some parts even lead a nomadic life. In the United States they are

numerous and rich, and have many fine synagogues. Some of them observe the Sabbath on Sunday, others use English prayers and have disused Hebrew, and many are lax in their ritual.

We must briefly notice the Beni Israel of Bombay, about five thousand in number, chiefly artisans, who say that they descend from a ship's company of ^{The} passengers wrecked on that coast more than a Beni Israel. thousand years ago. They are strict observers of the Sabbath, observe the great Jewish festivals, and refrain from unclean fish or flesh; and they have a markedly Jewish type of face. They have leaders who act as high priests as well as civil leaders. The Beni Israel speak Marathi; few know Hebrew. They seldom intermarry with ordinary Jews.

Ewald: "History of Israel," vols. 5-8. Schürer: "Jewish people in the time of Christ" (T & T. Clark). Hershon: "Genesis according to the Talmud." "The Palestinian Talmud," translated into French by M Schwab. "Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch." M'Clintock and Strong: "Cyclopedia of Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature."]





CHAPTER VI.

Modern Jewish Ritual.—The Karaites and Samaritans.

Synagogue government—Chief rabbi—Other officials—The ruler—Arrangement of synagogue—Costume during service—Fringes Phylacteries—Form of daily services—The Shema and blessings—Sabbath services—Reading the law—Sabbath observance—New moons—The New Year feast—Days of repentance—Day of atonement—Feast of tabernacles—Other feasts—The Passover—Feast of Pentecost—Fasts—Children—Marriage—The Meruzah—Divorce—Sickness, death and burial—The Kabbalah—The Zohar—The Karaites—Their view of Jesus Christ—The Samaritans—Early history—Samaritan Pentateuch—Liturgy—Principal beliefs—Fasts, Sabbaths, etc.

WE will now review some of the principal events and ceremonies among the modern Jews,¹ with special relation to the British Jews. Each synagogue constitutes a distinct community, independent except in government. a few particulars in which all are related to a central authority, composed of the Chief Rabbi and three members eminent for learning and piety, nominated by him and approved by the majority of the synagogues. These constitute the House of Judgment, and meet twice a week to settle all religious, social, and civil questions brought before them. His colleagues cannot act without the Chief Rabbi; they act for life unless they betray their trust. The title of Chief Rabbi must be conferred by a meeting of at least three chief rabbis; and thus in most cases it is decided by foreign

¹ John Mills: "The British Jews." Ginsburg: Articles in "Kitto's Cyclo-

Jews; but the synagogues vote for the candidates in proportion to the money they have subscribed for the maintenance of the Chief Rabbi. His duties are to perform all marriages of London Jews, to lecture once a month at the great synagogue, Duke's Place, Aldgate; to superintend all the shochet, or killers of animals for food, to visit the Jewish schools and colleges, etc., and to exercise a general jurisdiction over all the synagogues in his province. In England there is a rabbi at Manchester appointed by the Chief Rabbi, but no other person in England has this high title. One of the strangest things in the history of the Jews is the decayed condition of the priesthood, who, since the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, have had no special and exclusive functions, the sacrifices being no longer offered. It does not even appear to be necessary that the Chief Rabbi should be of priestly descent. The Levites, too, are in many cases able to trace their descent from the tribe of Levi, but they no longer have any special duties.

The Sophers, or "Writers," are skilled writers of Hebrew, who prepare scrolls of the law, and various documents connected with Jewish ceremonies and rites. The Shochet are killers of animals ^{Other officials.} suitable for Jews to eat, and are definitely appointed after examination by three rabbis. The office is generally held by the Reader of the synagogue, unless the Jews are numerous in a town. He is also the circumciser, except where there are many Jews, when a special official is appointed.

The Reader is the minister of the synagogue: there are generally a senior and a junior Reader for considerable congregations. He has to read the liturgy and to attend marriages and funerals of members. ^{The Reader.} His duties, with that of the clerk, are minutely specified and rather onerous. Elections of Readers are made by the congregation, after due nomination and selection of candidates by the committee. Candidates for the office may be of any nation or congregation, most of the readers in England being German or Polish Jews. The congregation have considerable power over matters con-

cerning them in general or members in particular, having the right to attend meetings, in which everything is decided by the vote of the majority.



REMOVING SCROLLS OF THE LAW FROM THE ARK -
WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE.

The synagogue (commonly called *schul*, from the German *schule*, by the Ashkenazim) is more formally termed "Beth Haknesseth" (house of the assembly) in documents. The

interior of the building is divided into two parts, the floor with open seats for males, the gallery (with **Arrangement** lattice-work in front) for females, who are **of synagogue.** not considered as belonging to the congregation and may not join in the service. At the east end of the building is the Ark, a large wooden chest contained in a specially decorated receptacle, richly veiled. In this the Law is kept, wrapped in a tentlike cover, and the ceremony of taking it out for each service is very important. It is written on vellum about two feet wide, and of sufficient length to contain the entire Pentateuch, written in columns. Each end is fastened to a roller, round one of which it is wound as it is read, while it is correspondingly unwound from the other. The writing is without vowel points, and is therefore difficult to read; the Reader is expected to refresh his memory the evening before the service. The reading desk is a kind of raised seat on which the Reader stands, surrounded by all the officers of the congregation, seated. The seats nearer to the Ark are the more honourable, and are correspondingly expensive. At the west end of the synagogue a lamp is kept always burning, to represent the Shechinah of the old Temple.

Jewish services are unlike those of Christians and most other religious bodies in requiring the wearing of hats throughout, and in kneeling forming no part of **Costume** the ritual, except on the first two days of their **during service.** year and on the Day of Atonement. The males wear a special scarf with fringes, known as *talith*, which is a smaller outer representative of the "arbang **Fringes.** kanphoth" worn underneath the outer dress. It has four corners, with fringes attached to each, usually of eight threads nine inches long, arranged in a peculiar way. The under garment which it represents was formerly the outer one worn by Jews at all times, but transferred beneath in times of persecution. It is about three feet long and one foot wide, with a hole in the centre sufficient to let it pass over the head, so that part falls in front and part behind. The necessity for wearing such a garment is based on Numbers xv. 37-41. The

fringes are so arranged and knotted that they constitute a perfect symbol of the entire Law ; and the rabbis have even said that the law about fringes is as important as all the rest put together. More than one instance of anxiety to touch the fringes (rendered "hem" in the Authorised Version) of Jesus's garment is recorded in the Gospels ; and He rebuked the Pharisees for enlarging their fringes in the idea that they thereby served God better.

The phylacteries, or tephillin, are another important part of a Jew's service-costume. They are small square boxes of parchment in which are placed four slips of parchment an inch wide and eight inches long, containing four extracts from Exodus (xiii. 2-10, 11-16) and Deuteronomy (vi. 4-9, 13-21) carefully written in Hebrew, the writing folded inside. In the lid of the box is fixed a leather thong, about two yards long, for binding the phylactery round the head and arm. One of these is bound round the forehead of every male Jew above thirteen years old, and another on the left arm, at morning prayer, whether in the synagogue or at home, except on sabbaths and on festivals. While putting them on, the pious Jew repeats several forms of benediction. It was these phylacteries which the Pharisees, in the time of Christ, wore of unusual size that they might be conspicuous at a distance, indicating that they were at prayer or engaged in religious meditation. Maimonides says : "The sacred influence of the phylacteries is very great ; for as long as one wears them on his head and arm he is obliged to be meek, God-fearing, must not suffer himself to be carried away by laughter or idle talk, nor indulge in evil thoughts ; but must turn his attention to the words of truth and uprightness "

Devout Jews are expected to observe a very onerous amount of ritual and prayer ; but the prescribed service **Form of daily services.** consists entirely of reading and singing prayers and portions of Scripture, without any comment. Such sermons and lectures as are given are outside the ordinary routine. The daily service ought properly to be gone through three times a day—morning,

afternoon, and evening—at least privately. The morning service, as soon as may be after dawn (usually about 7 or 7.30), is the most important and lengthy. There are special ceremonies and recitals on entering the synagogue, and putting on the fringed scarf and the phylacteries. The service proper begins with the Shema, including Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21, and Num. xv. 37-41; beginning, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one **The Shema** Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God **and blessings** with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." This may be called a clear monotheistic creed. It is followed by a series of eighteen (really nineteen) benedictions, believed to have been composed by Ezra and the members of the Great Synagogue up to the time of the Roman ascendancy in Palestine. It may be confidently believed that Jesus and the apostles used these prayers and benedictions, or some of them, when they worshipped in the synagogues. They range through a very striking series of praises of God, prayers for mercy and forgiveness, for the re-establishment of the Israelitish kingdom, and for well-being and guidance. One of them, believed by many to have been added in Christian times, prays for the destruction of apostates. Other prayers and psalms may be interspersed in the service, which lasts an hour and a half. The afternoon service, before sunset, is held continuously with the evening service, beginning at sunset. The services are similar to that of the morning, but shorter. On Mondays and Thursdays, certain penitential prayers and portions of the Law are added, and on these days some Jews fast.

The Sabbath services of the Jews are four: the first about sunset on Friday, the ordinary service having some special psalms and prayers added to it as a **Sabbath** reception of the Sabbath. The principal morn- **services.** ing service is at a later hour than on other mornings, about 8.30, or even so late as 10.30 in reformed congregations. The daily service is first gone through; next a considerable portion of the Torah or Pentateuch is read, the whole being so divided as to be gone through once a year. This is followed by a selection from the prophetic

writings; and the whole concludes with prayers and portions of the Law relating to the former Temple sacrifices.

The Reading of the Law is a ceremony of great import in Jewish eyes. Several officials are designated to assist **Reading the Law.** in it, and these offices are eagerly sought and paid for by devout Jews, considerable sums being often given in order to gain the honour. A special person is deputed to go up with the Reader to the ark, and carry the scroll to the reading desk; and seven persons are called up to stand one by one by the side of the reader, as each of the seven sections, into which the Law for the day is divided, is read. When the ark is opened, and when the scroll is taken out, special portions of the Law are recited by the congregation. There are also special introductions by the Reader and attendants at each stage, and responses by the congregation. The reading of the Prophets is accompanied by similar, though less elaborate forms. The Sabbath afternoon service is nearly like that of ordinary days, and is separate from the Sabbath evening service, when, in addition to prayers like the daily service, certain psalms are read. A slight amount of music is introduced into the services; the Reader reads with a certain special musical intonation having sixteen different accents, constituting a sort of formal cantillation. Melodies, some ancient, some more modern, are also sung by the Reader and congregation, or by a special choir.

The observance of the Sabbath, among strict Jews, is very much the same as it always has been. It is marked **Sabbath observance.** by cessation from ordinary work, bathing and other special preparations preceding its commencement. The women often do not attend the synagogue services, but repeat prayers at home. At the Friday evening meal the children ask the father's blessing, and all then join in a Sabbath hymn, referring to the ministering angels, who are believed to visit and remain in the dwelling throughout the Sabbath. After this a part of the thirty-first chapter of Proverbs is read as a lesson to the female portion of the family. The Sabbath is then consecrated by blessing the specially prepared bread and wine. Two oblong loaves of fine flour are baked by

the mistress and placed upon the table, to commemorate the double portion of manna gathered in the wilderness on Fridays for the Sabbaths. One of the loaves is broken and distributed by the master, with a blessing. The Sabbath morning service should be attended before any meal is taken, and then not until the special "sanctification of the Sabbath" has been said, including the fourth commandment. There are numerous other formal ceremonies; but beyond their observance and refraining from prohibited actions, which is only kept up by the stricter Jews, it is the rule to spend the day in various forms of pleasure and recreation. Non-Jewish servants are usually engaged to do things which Jews must not do on the Sabbath.

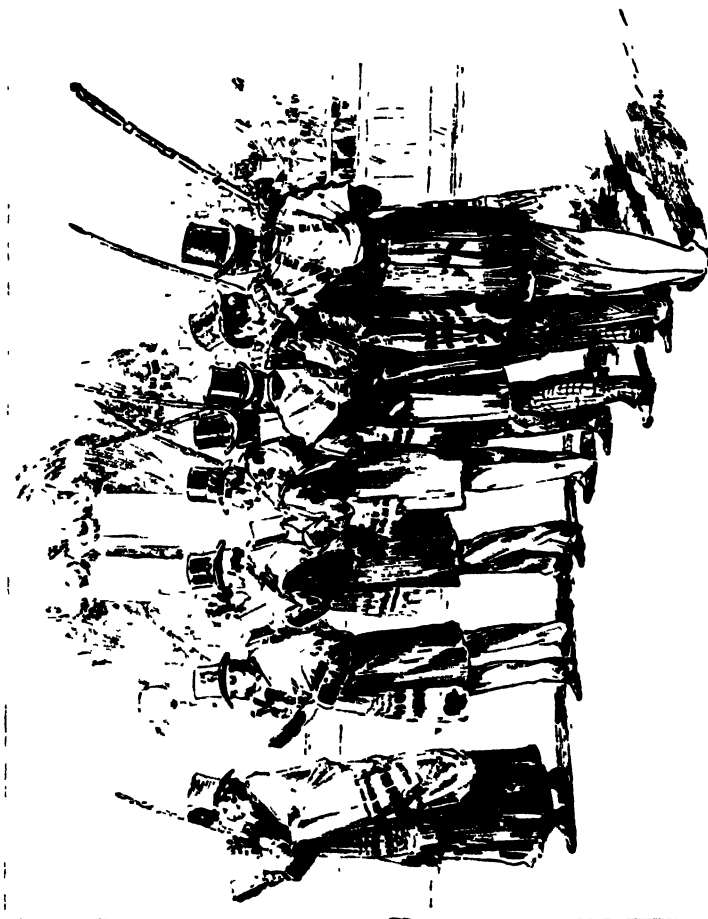
The numerous feasts and fasts of the Jewish calendar are kept with a varying degree of strictness, the great days being most observed. The first day of every lunar month is marked by several addi- **New moons.** tions to the ordinary services, praying for blessings for the month. Some Jews hold a special meeting for the salutation of the moon, sometimes between the third and fifteenth of the month; the face of the moon being looked upon as a Shechinah, or symbol of the Divine glory. The first month of the civil year, Tisri, answering nearly to our October, is believed to be that in which the world was created, and in which the destiny of all per- **The New Year Fast.** sons was settled by God. The first and second days are therefore kept much like a Sabbath, with additional prayers and passages of Scripture. After the first service, all salute each other with "May you be writ to a good year." At the first evening meal the master of the house cuts up a sweet apple and divides it between those present; each then dips his piece in a cup of honey and eats it, saying, "To a good year and a sweet one." After the morning service there is the ceremony of blowing the ram's horn as a proclamation to all men to repent, and as a reminder of the giving of the Law, and of the great day of coming judgment. Special preparation for blowing the horn is needed, and a special prayer is offered before it is blown. Various readings and prayers, with

an address by the rabbi or reader, are interspersed with the blowing of the horn. The full service lasts about six hours. The second day is kept with equal strictness; only slightly different extracts from the Law and the prophets are read.

The first ten days of the month are days of repentance and confession of sins, which, it is said, can **Days of Repentance.** arrest the evil decrees which fate would otherwise register. Such repentance, to bring a happy year, must take place before sunset on the Day of Atonement. On the ninth day, after breakfast, fowls are killed by heads of families, as representing atoning sacrifices. After the synagogue service visits are paid to the burial grounds, to invoke the intercession of the dead on the next day. The congregation return to the synagogue in the afternoon and, after services, the more devout subject themselves to the "whip of correction" from one another. "forty stripes save one" being given with a leather thong. They then return home for their last meal before the great Fast Day. Every member of the family is required to be reconciled if at variance, and children ask forgiveness of their parents, who bless and pray for them.

The evening service which follows in the synagogue ushers in the great Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippur*). It **Day of Atonement.** begins with a form of absolution for all rash or unfulfilled vows, oaths, etc. A three hours' service follows. Next morning service recommences about six o'clock and lasts till the evening, no meal being taken during the twenty-four hours. Appropriate prayers are followed by the reading of portions of the Law. Next follow the portions of the Law relating to the sacrifices; after which the priests, after ablution, pronounce the blessing from Numbers vi. 23-27 (see illustration, p. 96, standing in a row in front of the ark, covering their heads and faces with their scarves. Next follows the afternoon service, very full: and finally comes the great concluding prayer (*Nengilah*, a closing or bolting), indicating that the time of repentance is over and the destiny of each is fixed. The trumpet is then blown, and the service proper closes with the words, "Next year we shall

be in Jerusalem." But another half-hour of prayer follows, and the fast is over at about six o'clock. This day's service is attended by very many Jews who do not keep



PALM PROCESSION. FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

the other festivals or even attend the Sabbath services. The Jewish Free School is used to accommodate the overflow audiences. Many wear only stockings or cloth boots

on their feet during the service ; no leather nor any gold ornaments may be worn.

On the fifteenth of the same month the Feast of Tabernacles (*Succoth*) begins ; booths, or representatives of them, **Feast of Tabernacles** having been previously prepared either within or outside the houses. The Feast is celebrated with special prayers and references to the occasion. There is a special ceremony with branches of palm, myrtle, and willow, held in the hand, and waved about by the Reader during the synagogue service while the Hallel is being sung. Near the end of the afternoon service, the officers take a scroll of the Law out of the ark and march in procession—the Law being carried in front—round the reading desk, and holding the branches in their right hands. At every meal during the feast the account of dwelling in booths from Leviticus xxiii. has to be repeated. On the seventh day (the Great Hosanna) every one, male and female, attends the synagogue with branches of willow ; and seven scrolls of the Law are carried round the desk in procession seven times, hymns and prayers being sung meanwhile. After prayers every one beats the leaves off his willow branches, it being a good omen if they fall off easily. The eighth day is kept as a special feast, like the first two days. The ninth day is that on which the last and the first sections of the Law are read, and it is kept as a feast termed “the rejoicing of the Law.” There are processions again, in which it is a great honour to join, and after service special festivities take place in honour of the law.

In the third month, on the 25th and following days, the feast of dedication is held, in memory of the renewed **Other feasts.** dedication of the Temple at Jerusalem by Mattathias after its pollution by Antiochus Epiphanes. A fast in the fourth month commemorates the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar as the starting-point of the calamities of Israel. The feast of Purim is held on the 14th and 15th of the sixth month, Adar, to celebrate the deliverance of the Jews as recorded in the Book of Esther, the previous day (13th) being kept as “the fast of Esther.” At the first

service of the feast, on the evening of the 13th, the Book of Esther is read from a special scroll, and whenever the name of Haman is read the congregation stamp on the floor, and say, "Let his name be blotted out." The names of Haman and his sons are read very rapidly to signify their sudden destruction. These days are kept as special occasions of merry-making.

The Passover falls in the seventh month (Nisan), the



PUTTING ON PHYLACTERIES.

PHYLACTERIES, AS WORN IN THE
GARB OF PRAYER.

Sabbath preceding it being called the Great Sabbath, when the Rabbi expounds the laws and duties pertaining to the festival. During the eight ^{The Passover.} days no leavened bread or fermented wine is drunk. The bread used is in the form of large thin wheaten cakes of circular shape, and it is baked for all the United Kingdom under the special superintendence of the Chief Rabbi and a staff of watchers, who carefully prevent all chance

of fermentation. The wine used in the ceremonies is also carefully prepared under Jewish supervision. Some substitutes, a cheap raisin wine, rum, French brandy, etc., are also used. On the Pass-over eve the houses are searched for leaven, and everything is cleansed. The firstborn are expected to fast on this day. The Passover feast is celebrated in the family on the evening of the first day. Certain cakes called *Israelite*, *Levite* and *Kohen*, a shank-bone of lamb, an egg roasted in hot ashes, some lettuce and other herbs, some salt water and vinegar (in memory of the Red Sea), and some almonds, apples, etc. (mixed up like lime to commemorate the bricks and mortar of Egypt), are placed on the table. Every one at table (including every Jewish servant) drinks four glasses or cups of wine, and special blessings are said with each. Each article of food is distributed with special reference to the events commemorated, as "This is the bread of affliction, which our ancestors ate in the land of Egypt." A cup of wine is set for the prophet Elijah (or Elias), who is always expected to appear as the forerunner of the Messiah. After filling the last cup of wine, the *Hallel* is repeated, together with an account of the mighty deeds done at midnight and on the days of Passover. After the fourth cup of wine, the Paschal hymn is sung with great joy, including frequent repetitions and variations of such phrases as "The Illustrious One builds his house soon," with many names of God—as the Hallowed, the Powerful, the Strong One, the Redeemer, the Just One. The next evening is spent in a very similar way. Special portions of Scripture are read at the public services, with Rabbinical and Kabbalistic poems.

The Feast of Pentecost takes place on the ninth month, or the fiftieth day from the second Passover day. It commemorates the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. The synagogues are decked with flowers, and the houses with flowers and fragrant herbs, as a reminder of the open country in which the Law was given. There are special addresses and forms of sanctification extolling the blessings given to the Jews in the Law, and on the second day the Book of Ruth is read through.

A fast is kept in the month of January, on the day when Moses is supposed to have broken the tables of the Law, and when Jerusalem was destroyed the second time. In the eleventh month is a strict fast in memory of the destruction of the first and second Temples, and the Book of Lamentations and mournful prayers are read in the synagogue service. At the morning service even the fringes and phylacteries are laid aside. **Fasts.**

A few particulars remain to be given about the domestic regulations of the Jews. Circumcision of male children on the eighth to the twelfth day after birth is regularly performed with a religious ceremony, a Hebrew name, for religious use, being then given. The firstborn child of a mother, if a male, is "redeemed" when thirty days old, by a ceremonial offering of him to a priest, and the payment of a few shillings to the priest.

The first religious instruction given to a Jewish child, to be repeated immediately after waking in the morning, is the following: "I acknowledge before Thee, the living and everlasting King, that Thou hast returned my soul to me, in Thy great mercy and faithfulness." He is very early dressed in the four-cornered scarf with the fringes already alluded to, and instructed in its significance. Children are entirely under the control of their parents or guardians, till the thirteenth year has been completed. A boy then becomes "Bar Mitsvah," "a son of commandment," and is expected to take up full personal religious duties. He is called to the desk to read a portion of the Law on the first Sabbath after his attaining his thirteenth year, and he now begins to wear the phylacteries. **Children.**

Marriage is often arranged by go-betweens or match-makers. Formal betrothal precedes marriage by six or twelve months or more; and on the Friday evening before the wedding the Reader refers to it in a chanted address. Fasting on the wedding morning is most approved, the service taking place in the afternoon at the synagogue. Ten adult persons must be present. A canopy (chupah) of silk or velvet, about two yards square, is erected in the middle of the synagogue. **Marriage.**

supported by four long poles; under it the bride and bridegroom are led by their friends. (The Rabbi takes a



JEWISH WEDDING. UNDER THE "CHUPAH."

glass of wine, pronounces an appropriate wedding blessing, and gives the wine to the bride and bridegroom,

who taste it, and then the bridegroom, putting a ring on the bride's finger, says in Hebrew: "Behold thou art betrothed to me with this ring, according to the rites of Moses and Israel." The marriage contract (in Aramaic) is read aloud by the Rabbi, after which the Reader, taking another glass of wine, pronounces a blessing, and hands the wine to the bride and bridegroom, who taste it. An empty glass is then laid on the floor, the bridegroom stamps upon it and breaks it, all present cry out "Mezal Tov," ("Good Luck,") and the ceremony is concluded.

One of the earliest duties of a Jew, after setting up a house for himself, is to prepare a "Mezuzah," literally, "door-post," in order to fulfil the requirement ^{The Mezuzah} in Deut. vi. 4-9, and xi. 13-21, to write the law on his door-post and on his gate. A tin case or glass-tube is provided, in which a piece of vellum is placed, with the above passages written in Hebrew. On the outer side is written the word "Shaddai," one of the names of God, and a hole is left in the case, opposite to this word, so that it can be seen by any one passing. This case is nailed in a slanting position on the right-hand side of the door-post by the master of the house. Devout Jews kiss the Mezuzah before going to their daily work.

Divorce is performed by the husband giving the wife a formal "bill of divorcement," and can only be granted for serious causes. It is pronounced in the presence of ten witnesses besides the parties. A ^{Divorce.} divorced woman may not marry again within ninety days. A bill of divorcement conditional on the husband's non-return from foreign parts within three or more years, is also sometimes given.

When a Jew becomes very ill, there are many prayers and confessions which he is expected to repeat; and he is urged to ask pardon of any one he may have injured. There is a special form of public ^{Sickness, Death, and Burial.} thanksgiving on recovering from illness. When death is imminent, the sick man blesses his children, placing his hands on the head of each, and repeating such passages as Gen. xlviii. 20; Num. vi. 24, 26; Isa. xi. 2; and he exhorts them to persevere in their fathers'

faith, and to observe the usual mourning ceremonies. The Burial Society of the synagogue being notified, send four members to watch in the sick room day and night, and remain until the body is placed in the coffin. Various prayers are chanted by them; and finally, when the sick man is at the point of death, several passages are repeated



JEWISH BURIAL.

solemnly several times, such as "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever," "The Lord is the only God," and "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." The last words "one Lord" are to be said at the moment of death. After a few minutes, all make a small rent in one of their garments, saying, "Blessed

art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, the righteous Judge." Another declaration is made in an hour after death, including the phrase, "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." There are many interesting points in regard to purification of the body and preparation for the funeral, which we cannot detail. Very simple deal coffins are used for both rich and poor alike. The corpse is dressed in a complete set of linen garments, including the fringed scarf. The funeral is conducted with simple but extremely appropriate ceremonies. Seven days' mourning is enjoined after a funeral, during which the mourners must do no work at all, nor take any amusement. They are comforted by the visits of friends, who bring them "meals of condolence," consisting of hard-boiled eggs and bread. For thirty days afterwards no enjoyments or recreations must be taken; and pleasures are greatly restricted for twelve months. There is a special prayer for the dead (Kaddish), or rather a form of praise to God, which should be said morning and evening by a devout son for eleven months after the death of a parent.

The Kabbalah is a celebrated system of theosophy, which, arising among the Jews in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, has since exercised an important influence among both Jews and Christians. The Kabbalah.

It is a doctrine received by oral tradition, which is said to have been handed down from the times of the first man. It regards God as a Being above everything, even above being and thinking. He is called En Soph, "without end," "boundless," and is absolute and incomprehensible. The world is created through the medium of ten intelligences or Sephiroth, one, which was eternally existent in the En Soph, becoming distinct as an emanation of the Deity. From this emanated the second, from the second the third, and so on; and these ten form a complete unity with the En Soph, and are infinite and perfect when He imparts His fulness to them, and finite and imperfect when it is withdrawn. Their finite side is essential, being that by which they can come into relation with the human, and they may even assume a

bodily form. The ten Sephiroth are divided into three groups of three Sephiroth each, operating respectively upon the world of intellect, of souls, and of matter. Sefhira 1 is called the inscrutable height, 2 the creative wisdom, 3 the conceiving intellect. From 1 the divine power proceeds, from 2 the angels and the Old Testament, from 3 the prophetic inspiration. Sefhira 10, called *kingdom*, denotes Providence, protecting the Jews in all their wanderings. These Sephiroth created the lower world, everything in which has its prototype in the upper world; they uphold it, and convey to it the Divine mercies through twelve channels. The transmission of the Divine mercies can be hastened by prayer, sacrifices, and religious observances: and it has been given to the Jewish people to obtain these blessings for the whole world. All human souls pre-exist in the world of the Sephiroth, and must become incarnated in human bodies and undergo probation. If they remain pure, they re-ascend to the world of the Sephiroth; but if not, they must inhabit bodies again and again till they are purified. The redemption of Israel cannot take place till all the pre-existent souls have been born on earth and have been purified. The soul of the Messiah is to be the last born, "at the end of the days." The great interest of this system is, that by it all Biblical anthropomorphisms are explained as describing the Sephiroth, and that all the Jewish ritual and law is raised in spiritual significance. There is much resemblance between it and Neo-Platonism. We have given but a mere sketch of this complex system, which is said to be discoverable in veiled language in the Old Testament, but only by most fanciful and arbitrary methods. The arrangement of triads was made, even in the *Zohar*, to explain the Trinity, the Messiah and His atonement; and this has persuaded many Kabbalists to become Christians. Treatises have been written to prove the truth of Christianity from the Kabbalistic doctrines. Pico de Mirandola, late in the fifteenth century, maintained in Rome that "no science yields greater proof of the divinity of Christ than magic and the Kabbalah;" and he convinced Pope Sixtus IV. of its importance as

a help in the diffusion of Christianity, so that he set students to translate the Kabbalistic writings into Latin. Not only Pope Leo X., but many early reformers were



PASSOVER EVE.

fascinated by the Kabbalistic doctrine as set forth by John Reuchlin.

The Zohar ("Light") is as a Bible to the Kabbalists.

It is a commentary on the Pentateuch, written in Aramaic, assuming to be written by Rabbi **The Zohar.** Simon ben Yochi, about 70-110 A.D., but really a thirteenth century composition. (See Ginsburg, "The Kabbalah: its Doctrines, Development, and Literature," 1805; also in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.) It contains, as well as a commentary, a number of separate treatises, with such titles as "The Mansions and Abodes," "The Secret of Secrets," dealing with physiognomy and psychology, "The Faithful Shepherd," etc. It will be evident that the Kabbalah has something in common with the Hindu and Buddhist philosophies; and its very fancifulness gives it much fascination. It is another example of the irresistible fascination of speculations about the unseen.

We must here give a brief separate notice of the Karaites,¹ one of the most distinctive sects of the Jews, marked by their rejection of the oral law, or **The Karaites.** tradition, and their guidance only by the text of the Old Testament. They appear to have originated after the publication of the Talmud, and they represent a spirit of reform and reversion to a simpler faith and observances. Their first notable man, Ahnan ben David, arose in the middle of the eighth century, and, having been rejected from the post of chief patriarch of the exiled Jews in Bagdad on account of his views, he formed a congregation of his own at Jerusalem. He gained a large number of adherents, and spread his faith, by messengers and letters, through a large part of Asia and the countries bordering the Mediterranean. His main tenets were the supreme authority of the Law, and the worthlessness of everything in the Talmud or other writings that was contrary to the Law of Moses. He died in 765, leaving behind him very many adherents: and his sect grew till the fourteenth century, after which they were largely eclipsed. The present number of Karaites is very uncertain. There are many in the Crimea and in Asia, and some would reckon among them

¹ From Hebrew *Karaim*, readers—i.e., observers—of the written Law.

the Reformed Jewish congregations in Western Europe. They appear to have been influenced to some considerable extent by Mohammedanism, laying much stress on prayers, fasting, and pilgrimages to Hebron (as a tribute to Abraham). They make the heads of their phylacteries round instead of square, and, among other things, extend the prohibition of marriage to the remotest degree of affinity. They believe in the unity of God the Creator, in Moses His prophet, in the perfection of his Law, in the resurrection and day of judgment, in retribution according to human doings, in the chastisement by God of the Jews, and in hoping for salvation by the Messiah, the Son of David. They accept the teachings of the Talmud, where they are purely explanatory, without adding to or altering the sense, but they give no credit to its fanciful explanations and allegories. They believe that the Messiah will issue from themselves.

The attitude of Ahnan towards Jesus is worthy of note. He said that Jesus of Nazareth was "a very wise, just, holy, and God-fearing Man, who did not at all ^{Their view of} wish to be recognised as a prophet, but simply ^{Jesus Christ} desired to uphold the Law of Moses and do away with the commandments of men." He therefore condemned the Jews for having dealt with Jesus as an impostor, and for having put Him to death.

The Samaritans are another community claiming to be Jews, and now reduced to fewer than two hundred persons, living at Nablous, the ancient Shechem, ^{The} in the centre of Palestine. Historically they ^{Samaritana} are important for the circumstances of their origin, several features in their history and worship, and their preservation of very ancient manuscripts of the Pentateuch and other sacred books, and of several interesting traditions. They originated after the depopulation of central Palestine by the Assyrians in the eighth ^{Early} century B.C., and their replacement by various ^{history} colonists from Babylonia. It appears probable that some Israelites, perhaps only of the poorest class, were left behind, and mingled with the settlers. The latter set up their own idolatrous worship: but being attacked by

lions, they regarded their ravages as a warning that they ought to worship the God of the land. They informed the king of Assyria of this, and he sent back to them one of the captive priests of Jehovah, who settled at Bethel, and taught them to worship the God of Israel (2 Kings xvii.). By the time of Ezra it would appear that the worship of Jehovah was in the ascendant among the Samaritans, and they desired to join the returned Jews in rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem. This privilege being refused, the Samaritans became actively hostile to the Jews; and they appear thenceforward to have represented themselves as the true followers of Moses, and Gerizim (near Shechem) as the sanctuary appointed by God. The site was sacred by many associations of Israelitish history. A temple was built there by the Samaritans about the time of Alexander the Great, and was the centre of a considerable worship till it was destroyed by John Hyrcanus in B.C. 129. After this still more bitter enmity reigned between the Samaritans and the Jews. The Samaritans killed Galilean pilgrims to Jerusalem, and once even polluted the Temple on the eve of the Passover. Thus we can better realise the point of the parable of the Good Samaritan, a good deed done to a Jew by his direst hereditary enemy, when his own people passed him by. For a long time the Samaritans continued their cruelties to the Jews, and later transferred their hatred to the Christians. Their latest rising against them, in the Emperor Justinian's reign (A.D. 529), led to a destructive campaign which almost obliterated them. Many shared in the dispersion of the Jews; and we read of synagogues of the Samaritans in various places. Little more was heard of them until towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the renowned scholar, Joseph Scaliger, addressed the Samaritan congregations of Nablous and Cairo; and after his time the Samaritan Pentateuch and other literature gradually became known in the West and copies of many of the manuscripts reached Europe.

It is mentioned by early Christian Fathers that the Samaritans claimed to possess a very early form of the

Pentateuch, written in a peculiarly modified Hebrew writing, with special marks or signs. The Samaritan oldest manuscript, which may date from the Pentateuch. fourth century A.D., but is probably based on original copies dating from the time of Ezra, is the present sacred roll of the Samaritans, written on twenty-one skins of unequal size, but now in a bad state of preservation and only partially legible. A note upon it states that it was made by Abishua, son of Phinehas, grandson of Aaron, on Mount Gerizim, in the thirteenth year after the Israelites had taken possession of the land. It shows marks of an earlier dialect of Hebrew than our present Hebrew Old Testament, with certain variations which are reproduced in the Septuagint. Consequently many scholars believe that the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch were derived from Jewish manuscripts which greatly resembled each other,¹ but differed slightly from our present Hebrew Pentateuch. There are certain factors in the Samaritan copies which appear to be due to purposive alteration by the Samaritans, to add dignity to the patriarchs or to add to the glory of the Creator, to introduce Mount Gerizim, to support monotheism, or to remove anthropomorphism. Thus, wherever God Himself is represented as speaking directly to men, "the angel of God," is substituted. There is also a Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, probably made in the first century of the Christian era, in a sort of Aramaic which approaches Arabic; the names Elohim and Jehovah are usually changed to angel. Various anthropomorphisms are altered. This Samaritan translation is remarkable for the number of glosses which it contains, making it practically a Targum.

The Samaritans have also a considerable liturgy, consisting chiefly of hymns and prayers for Sabbaths and feast-days, and prayers for special occasions. Liturgy.

Among the principal beliefs of the Samaritans may be mentioned the belief in one God, in Moses as His one

¹ See J. W. Nutt, "Fragments of a Samaritan Targum, with a Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma, and Literature."

messenger and prophet, in the perfection and complete-
Principal ness of the Law, that Gerizim is the abode of
beliefs. God on earth, the home of eternal life, that over
 it is Paradise: and that there will come a day of retri-
 bution, when the righteous will rise again, and false
 prophets and their followers will be cast into fire. They
 believe also in angels and astrology. They believe in a
 coming Messiah or "Restorer," to whom all people will
 submit, and the beginning of whose name will be M. He
 will establish the Tabernacle on Mount Gerizim, and will
 live 110 years on earth.

At the present day the Samaritans observe seven feasts
 a year, the Passover being that kept with most solemnity.¹

Feasts, The Sabbath is strictly kept, and also the years
Sabbaths, etc. of jubilee and release. The senior priest may
 nominate any male member of his family to the priest-
 hood, if at least twenty-five years of age, and having
 uncut hair. Tithes and presents every half-year support
 the two priests. They never take off their turban; and
 when they remove the roll of the Law from the ark, they
 place a cloth (*talith*) round their head. When a man's
 wife proves barren, he is permitted to take a second.
 On the whole, Jewish customs are strictly followed. At
 the Passover time they literally encamp on Mount
 Gerizim for a week, and slay, roast, and eat the lambs
 with their loins girt, and with staves in their hands, ob-
 serving the minutest details of the ritual of the Penta-
 teuch. They keep the Fast of the Atonement in the
 most rigid manner, remaining in their synagogue all the
 twenty-four hours without eating, drinking, or smoking,
 the priests and people reciting the whole Pentateuch,
 intermingled with prayers and confessions of faith. If
 they have not a very strong Israelitish element in them,
 their Judaic religion and the rigid conservatism with
 which they have maintained it, are among the most re-
 markable religious phenomena in the world.

¹ See Stanley, "Jewish Church," and Mills, "Three Months'
 Residence in Nablous."



THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

Founder of Christianity.

Divergent views—Facts well-known—Contrast between Jesus and other teachers—Originality in His teaching—In His character and mode of life—A new ideal of love—Power of the unseen—The Divine Father—Influence of future life—Faith required—Forgiveness of sins—The demand for truth—Law of kindness—His relation to God the Father—His relation to mankind—The special affection He inspired—His treatment of women and of children—His limitations—Miracles—Salvation from sin—Liberation from lower nature—Purpose of His life and death—The society He founded—The sacraments—His mode of teaching—The gnomic form—The concrete and practical—His parables—His predictions—His Passion—The resurrection—St. Paul's testimony.

IN attempting to portray in some fashion the foundation and history of Christianity, the writer reaches the most critical and difficult portion of his task; first, because of the numberless important facts and **Divergent** questions which cannot be dealt with in a **views.** limited space; secondly, on account of the vital relation the facts described have to the beliefs and conduct of multitudes of persons; and thirdly, because of the controversies which encircle so many incidents or general questions relating especially to the early history of Christianity. The author must repeat that no dogmatic conclusions are here enforced. Those facts and views which

appear most salient, must of course be selected ; but when facts are in dispute, most stress will be laid on those which are agreed upon by numerous opposing schools of thought, the object being to present as impartial a narrative as possible ; only the writer claims that dogmatic opinions shall not be imputed to him which he does not express. The divergences of views among those who hold what may be termed orthodox opinions about the "inspiration" of the books of the New Testament, might be quoted to show that one man's orthodoxy is another man's heterodoxy ; and that unless we take refuge in a so-called "infallible" Church, there is no better course than to allow each inquirer to hold the opinions he judges most reasonable without stigma, and to seek to know and to hold fast matters of fundamental import as regards conduct, without quarrelling and quibbling about matters of opinion, which, however, should be temperately discussed in their proper place.

It is fortunately unnecessary to recount the main facts in the life of Christ, since it can scarcely be expected **Facts well known.** that this book will have any readers who do not know them ; and, moreover, to deal with them even in a meagre fashion would require far more space than we have at command. Inasmuch as the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament supply nearly all the facts known, and since the substantial truth of their testimony is unimpeached by any adequate counter-evidence, while it has stood the test of time and destructive criticism, on the whole with singular success, we shall assume a general assent to the New Testament narrative. It may be added, that those portions which are most objected to by critics, are those which concern unseen or supernatural powers and effects, and as to which there can be no actual objective proof nowadays. All the narratives, where they deal with supernatural things, can be argued about at length, may be made and have been made the subject of endless irritating controversy, without in the slightest degree settling the questions involved. The human mind either places itself in subjection to an infallible Church, to the authority of those learned

in such subjects, or it receives what commends itself to its inner consciousness as probable or possible; or even, to adopt a famous phrase, it believes because it is impossible; for "the things impossible with man are possible with God." We shall confine ourselves here for the most part to facts and aspects of teaching, and the results they have had.

We can perhaps more readily place ourselves in the position of those who saw Jesus at the commencement of His mission, after having contemplated the ^{Contrast between Jesus and other} other great founders of religion. A large proportion of these have belonged rather to the ^{teachers.} upper or dominant classes; Jesus was born in no superior station, came from no important centre, had not studied under any notable teacher,—and this was all-important in his day,—and followed one of the occupations demanding least skill, in a small town. His coming forward to teach in itself constituted a most striking innovation, and could only have been justified and tolerated by reason of the great novelty of His teaching, and, as many believe, by reason of the clear evidence supplied by the miracles He wrought. Those who do not accept such miracles as that at the wedding at Cana in their obvious sense, are compelled to attach yet greater importance to the force, novelty, and convincing power of the teaching with which Jesus commenced His ministry. To the writer, the mental and spiritual miracles wrought by Christ are more astonishing than any physical miracles could be; but unless we deny the essential truth of the Gospels, we must believe that "signs and wonders," no less than moral teaching, had a part in the impression produced by Him. It appears very doubtful if anything but the combination of these two elements could have overcome, to the extent they did, the presumption that is so strong against all innovators; but there are not a few who put down the success of Christ's teaching to its inherent merits, apart from miraculous aid.

Much has been said about the originality or the reverse of Christ's teaching. Attempts have been made, in some cases with success, to find parallels to portions of His

teaching in the maxims of other peoples, in the teaching of other religious founders or philosophers before His time. If it be true, or if it were true, that much of His teaching had come into the world piecemeal before, it would only be in accord with the principle of evolution that is now found to have been working in so many spheres. That which was before spoken "by divers portions and in divers manners," was gathered up and consummated in the Founder of Christianity. But we are by no means to take this as in any way detracting from His originality: it simply proves Him to have been in accord with the system of the course of events of the world, and to have come at the right moment in the world's history, in a truly natural relation to what preceded. To have spoken words utterly new, ideas for which the ground had in no way been prepared, would have involved His instant death or banishment from among men. All who have realised the intense aversion of primitive or even civilised mankind to what is wholly new and uncomprehended, will see that this must be the case. Every true evolution, every evolution which is to last, proceeds upon prepared material, and passes through natural stages. Those whose bias is against seeing what is called supernatural in human affairs, may gain confidence in Christianity by considering and realising the naturalness of the stages of its evolution, while those who prefer to look at everything as the direct act of a Creator or Heavenly Spirit, need not quarrel with the naturalists who seek to discern the steps of the working, while acknowledging their inability to penetrate behind the veil which hides the mystery of the First Cause.

But Christ was original, first and most completely, in His character and in the tenor of His life. He not merely taught, but He exemplified a new spirit of character and action which, though we speak of it by the name of "love," requires the adjective "Christian," and many explanatory words, such as sympathy, brotherhood, charity, to represent it at all adequately. In one aspect it depends upon the raising of mankind to a position of brotherhood as being all the children of one

Father God ; but the very conception of brotherhood was raised and widened and intensified, in showing this fully. Not merely the mutual attachment sometimes seen between brothers in ancient society, not the loving affection of a David and Jonathan, of a Damon and Pythias, capable of dying for one another, and loving ^{a new ideal of} each other as tenderly as man can love woman, ^{love.} but something beyond all this, was the brotherhood which Jesus exemplified and taught. Mutual affection could be inspired by mutual appreciation of good qualities, clannish regard by community of kindred, associations, habits, interests, etc. ; but Jesus showed an unheard-of affection to those most unlike Him, most distant from Him in habits and associations, even to those of evil life and conduct. It is in these features that He established a new ideal, and has had a vast number of imitators and followers, inspired by His teaching and example. A new type and kind of affection was added to the repertory of human character. "A new commandment give I unto you," He said, "that ye love one another, *even as I have loved you*"—a love which could survive ingratitude, evil conduct, and repudiation of Him, and could work to an extreme for the reclamation of the erring. This was a love shown, not merely to those who had once received His teaching, or shown Him regard, but spontaneously tendered to those who had done nothing to deserve it, to all those who had in them any germ of good. "And who has not?" said Jesus; for He asserted that the Father of all did not will that any one should perish; but that whosoever would have everlasting life, on such conditions as alone could make it a boon, might have it, and might receive a spirit which would elevate their character and enable them to do the will of their Heavenly Father.

It has been seen how great was and is the power of the Invisible in other religions. In some ways that influence has been injurious, when it has peopled ^{Power of the} the unseen with demons and malignant spirits, ^{Unseen.} and converted deceased relatives into beings to be carefully propitiated, buried, and sacrificed to, lest they should do harm to their survivors. The doctrine that no

calamity happens except as consequence of offences against deities who must be propitiated by ceremonies, charms, and sacrifices, has worked great ill; and what has been termed devil-worship may be afterwards seen to have invaded even Christian Churches.

In some religions, however, there has been considerable elevating influence in the conceptions of the Unseen and of the Supreme Being; but nowhere had these **The Divine Father.** attained the grandeur, the purity, and the ennobling power seen in Judaism. But all this was raised to an immeasurable degree by Jesus in His picture of God as the Father—unseen, yet ever watching the actions of His children, considering, not the outward act only, but the inward motive, the strength of effort, the difficulties overcome by each one. Other religions have attained, in their loftiest examples, to a high regard of control over the thoughts; some of the Psalms, as the 103rd, represent God as a Father, pitying His children, remembering their frailty and imperfections, and tenderly regarding those that fear Him; but none had gone so far to bring the Father and His children generally into intimate relationship, or to make men realise a constantly present Father, who was persistently kind in giving many blessings even to the evil and the unthankful.

But in another direction Jesus exalted greatly the ideal of the supreme Being by His teaching about immortality and the dispensation of future happiness and punishment. **Influence of Future Life.** The conception of future existence after death, and, to a less extent, of a distribution of rewards and punishments according to conduct or to the way in which gods and deceased relatives had been propitiated, has been common among many peoples. We have seen, too, that the Jews, apparently slow in arriving at a full conception of it, had certainly attained a very definite belief in later times. So that Jesus, in bringing a future life into prominence, was not so much revealing a new idea as tending to confirm it as a human tenet by lending to it the enormous sanction of His character, persuasiveness, and credentials. He largely dwarfed the pre-lominant influ-

ence of events in this life, whether favourable or painful, by bringing into prominence the future judgment and redress of temporal inequalities. The descriptions of the Great Assize and the Last Judgment have impressed themselves, one would say, indelibly upon the imagination of mankind, although as to the extent to which a perfect picture can have been conveyed, or intended to be conveyed, in a narration addressed to a local audience in an Oriental country, there may be great diversity of opinion. In any case, the belief that a future judgment is to take place, at which the condition of men will be determined according to conduct in this life, has undoubtedly exercised an enormous influence, both in producing converts to Christianity and in elevating their moral tone; on the other hand, abuses and detriment to morals have arisen where men have come to believe that repentance could readily be made, or absolution granted by priests for sins wilfully committed. But this is outside the teaching of Christ, which raised a mighty ideal and invisible bar or judgment-seat in each man's conscience, saying, "You may be honourable and honoured before the world, you may appear fair and pure to men, but unless the inward motive and conduct be right, you have to fear a just Judge hereafter, whose judgment will have the utmost influence on a state of existence from which you cannot escape."

It may be said that faith was not a teaching of Jesus by which He was distinguished from many other religious teachers; for they have required their pupils **Faith** to believe in their teaching and doctrines, and **required.** to practise them. But in one respect His teaching about faith had a peculiarity. Salvation, forgiveness, or the special boon needed, could be obtained by faith without special works in most cases. The cure was mental or spiritual alone, and did not require payment to the teacher, going through a ceremony, joining an order, a daily rite of purification, etc., though, of course, the loss of faith implied loss of the state produced by faith. And there was one of these states of the utmost importance to the peace of the convert, in producing which by an act of

faith, Christ effected a more astonishing revolution than **Forgiveness of sins.** Buddha by receiving converts into his Order by his simple formula; for Christ left His converts in the world for the most part, telling them they would have tribulation there, but the consciousness of the forgiveness of their sins, through their faith in this assurance, was to support them; they were to be at ease, for He had overcome the world, and was superior to it. That consciousness of sin which had gradually become so intense in the ancient world, concurrently with increased licentiousness and decay in nearly all religions, had from Him the only remedy which could relieve the soul from the load of guilt—its abolition, or the abolition of its paralysing weight, when faith in His teaching about Himself and about God had purified and elevated the character so as to start it effectually on a higher course of life.

In another direction, where originality was not so apparent in the teaching, it yet did inestimable service. **The demand for truth.** It may be said that all Nature tends to establish truth; for the thing that only pretends to be that which it is not, cannot last: and men in conflict with reality and actual force, cannot but succumb. Christ not only sanctioned the Mosaic command not to bear false witness, but He carried the domain of truth into the most inward thought, everywhere where the world cannot follow us. Perhaps this does not go beyond the Psalmist's "Thou desirest truth in the inward parts": but in practice the spiritual nature of Christ's action went beyond that of His most exacting predecessor. He, it may be said, established the demand, the ideal of inward truth and purity, in a position beyond which it cannot be carried: for what can be truer than absolute truth? It is, indeed, the fundamental element towards progress; and though man's nature is destined to ascend through illusions to the truth, the progress, if any, must be towards absolute truth in all directions. A perfect ideal has been set up, the race is started on the road; if it do not pursue it unceasingly, it will die out. And thus scientific investigation—even the severest critical study

of the New Testament and Christianity in modern times, which alone have possessed certain methods and powers and resources of inquiry—may take its stand firmly, as fulfilling Christ's own requirement, emphasised by St. Paul in the words, "Prove all things:" "We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." No criticism by reasonable methods, with a pure desire to attain truth, is to be discountenanced by a true follower of Christ; and bias and unconscious desire and tendency to support preconceived notions or the interests of party, are not restricted either to the apologists or to the opponents of Christianity.

By many precepts of varying colour, Christ discountenanced revenge and substituted a supreme law of kindness. Our fellow-men are to be treated as a **Law of kindness.** loving Father would treat his loved and erring children; our neighbour is whoever is in need of our help, and whom we can really help; we are to put ourselves in our neighbours' or enemies' place, and do to them what we would be glad to have done to us in like case. These precepts, as recorded, were given broadly by Jesus, without a full analysis of circumstances and instances, that being left to individual men to work out for themselves; and herein, as He showed the same love Himself. He created it in others, and taught men to "love their enemies, to do good to them that hate them." Who will say that the world is not the richer, that human character is not more noble, for the instances in which this ideal has been literally followed?

One of the most potent influences of the life of Jesus is expressed in His saying, "He who hath seen Me hath seen the Father." This is to be understood. **His relation to God the Father.** not as contradicting the assertion, "No man can see My face and live," but as indicating what Christians believe to be true, that in His person Jesus revealed and exemplified the nature of the Divine Father of all mankind in a way which no other man and no other revelation have done. And this may be taken in a sense not always thought of. If there be a Creator. He must be greater than all. Every true and noble ideal

must be but a partial showing forth of that which is in Him.

A study of the various descriptions which Jesus gave of Himself shows that He had a clear consciousness, amounting to absolute certainty, of unity of will and **His relation** spirit with the supreme Father. At the same **to mankind.** time He represented Himself as specially related to all mankind, as being "the Son of man," the representative of mankind, born to enfranchise them, to teach them how to attain unity with God, and to redeem them from evil and the power of evil. Some statements attributed to Him are by some critics questioned as not being genuine, others are supposed to be coloured by the narrator's mind; but that He believed and represented Himself to be in a special and unique sense both Son of God and Son of man there is no reasonable ground for doubting. Moreover we cannot doubt that the evidence of His life and character, His words and works, was sufficient to convert many apathetic or hostile persons into ardent believers and followers. Those who regard these beliefs as delusions have a heavy task in explaining their relation to a sincere character like that of Jesus, or in explaining how a false belief could generate so mighty a force as Christianity. Much more in accord with scientific truth is it to say, that Christianity succeeded by virtue of the truth that was in it, however much error became mingled with it; and he who can separate the beliefs of and about Jesus as to His divine nature from His moral teaching, and show how the latter alone could have produced such results, will have accomplished more than has yet been done. Has any lofty moral teaching alone regenerated and elevated a large portion of mankind? Could anything not accredited as a revelation persuade people that God was not merely a distant powerful Governor, but also a loving Father? Could any revelation convincingly persuade men of the latter teaching, unless it was exemplified in the perfect life of One who as man believed and realised the Fatherhood of God, and who could generate a conviction that He was so intimately in union with God that He could reveal the mind and nature of that Father?

As a human being, Jesus inspired the most powerful affection in a large number of people that had ever been known, an affection which in many disciples became stronger than all the ties of ^{The special} affection He ^{inspired.}



"ECCE HOMO" (AFTER GUIDO).

kindred, and that too in persons whose affection for kindred was unusually strong. What could have inspired such affection except the realisation that in Jesus a greater

love than any man had previously shown claimed their admiration and won their hearts? And this affection was manifested in all kinds of human conditions and relations, excepting that of marriage, wherein men and women have simply to rise, in their true spiritual unions, to the degree of love and helpfulness which Jesus manifested for all mankind. In physical weakness, in joys and sorrows, Jesus showed Himself not merely sympathetic with others, but intensely desirous of sympathy, craving such **His treatment** brotherly sympathy from His beloved friends **of women.** as He gave them lavishly Himself. Towards women He was so tender, so considerate, so charitable that He raised an ideal of helpfulness and tenderness towards the most degraded of the sex such as no Christian people has ever yet fully exemplified, but which must be practically realised before any people can be said to be Christlike. And when He spoke of the marriage union, it was in words which made no distinction of subjection between the parties.

Towards children Jesus was exceptionally and specially tender. Few records of other religions show any particular bias towards children; but Jesus on all **And of** occasions spoke of and to them with special **children.** appreciation, and, indeed, raised out of them and their innocent simplicity an ideal of the Christ-like spirit which has had an enormous influence in moulding the characters of Christians. "To become as a little child," in simplicity, in reverence, in acceptance of and compliance with the paternal will, in reliance upon the fatherly blessing and good-will, has been engraved upon the hearts of multitudes as the ideal, the test, the goal beyond which, in its fullest realisation, Christian life could not pass, but towards which it must ever unrestingly press. This is one of Christ's phrases which contains within it the elements of transcendent discipline, just like those other phrases: "as I have loved you," "the baptism I am baptised with," "it is My meat and My drink to do the will of My Father."

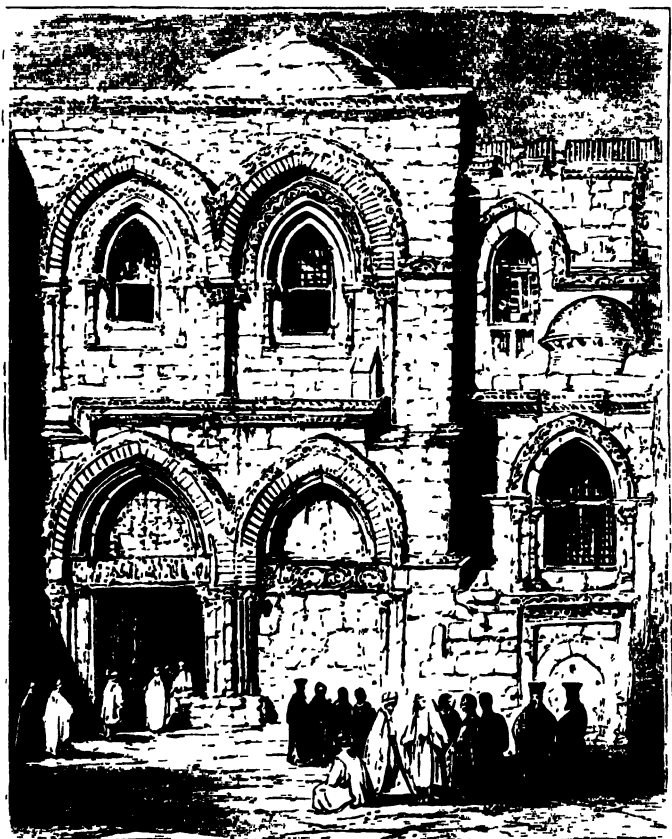
A matter of the utmost importance may here be referred to. At one time the belief in the Divinity of

Christ had so intensely impressed itself on a large part of Christendom that it obscured His true man-~~His~~ ^{voluntary} hood. At the present day Christ's humanity is ~~limitations~~ very generally and fully realised, and attention is widely given to the question what limitation that manhood involved. There is emphatic testimony in the New Testament to the fact of the existence of many ordinary human limitations; and in the view of Pauline theology this took place by a voluntary renunciation or "emptying" (*kenosis*) on the part of the Son of God. But what this involved and how far it extended, while no human being seems competent to pronounce, many have taken in hand to discuss. All such theorising must be doubtful, and it is often carried to just that point which the theorist needs to explain his own particular theory of inspiration or of the fallibility or infallibility of Jesus as a human being. We will merely suggest that a humanity which, in regard to mere human knowledge, gave Jesus a nature out of touch with the intellectual grade reached by the men by whom He was surrounded, would have caused Him to be regarded as a madman. The insight His pure nature displayed into spiritual things, into the invisible things of God, was sufficient to cause His teaching to be received in most cases as an idle tale; and if to that spiritual insight the knowledge which has only been attained in late years had been superadded, it would surely have been impossible for Him to gain any hearing at all. It seems most reasonable that in things of merely human learning the Messiah should only have the ordinary equipment of humanity,¹ while as a pure soul (leaving out of consideration the question of His divine nature) He should see indefinitely farther into the meaning of nature and its underlying realities than any human being had previously penetrated.

That Jesus worked miracles, or at least professed or appeared to do so, is evident on the face of the New Testament narratives. Those who Miracles.

¹ This gives a keynote by which many explain the accord of Jesus's expressions about Satan, demonology, demoniac possession, etc., with current opinions.

have imagined a Divine and yet non-miraculous Jesus have to perform extraordinary operations upon the narratives or invent equally strange hypotheses to make out a case. Even those who regard Christ as simply a human



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM (EXTERIOR).

teacher, may readily admit the working of many signs and wonders as due to His extraordinary will power, and the physical and moral effect of His unique personality. What many scientific men refuse to admit is, that any

miracle can have been worked by Him which contravened, suspended, or neutralised physical laws, or which broke through the established order of nature. To the faith of most Christians even such an apparent breach of continuity presents no stumbling-block, for that Power which established the order could surely provide also for the exceptional occasions when "miracle" was needed in order to establish some fact or produce some belief. A view which would reconcile the scientific with the Christian attitude is, that a character so intensely in accord with the Divine power in moral and spiritual questions as that of Jesus, may also be supposed to have a deep insight into the springs of physical nature and the influence of mind on matter; and that it involves no greater stretch of probability that He should work physical miracles by or in virtue of the deeper laws of the universe, than that He should work moral miracles by virtue of a similar insight into mental and moral laws. It was His mission to endeavour to heal all the evils He saw, to restore mankind to mental, moral, and physical sanity and reasonableness, to elevate their entire nature, so that they might realise a right relationship to God. What wonder that He should have benefited their bodies as well as their souls? Often He used what we call appropriate "means"; at other times we have no record of anything but will-power, or prayer to God, preceding cure or miracle. Behind these records we cannot penetrate. Those who can find their full aspirations after goodness and the Divine satisfied without the necessity of believing in miracle, have a difficult task to eliminate the miraculous from the New Testament without destroying the historical credibility of the other portions. The majority of Christians will not cease to believe in the miracles of Jesus because they are told that they could not have been; they believe that the fallibility of man has not yet generated infallibility in the scientific man; and they find it easier to believe in a miraculous Christ than in the marvellous growth and general beneficence of Christianity upon a fabric of delusion.

To give relief from bodily disease was, however, but a

minor aim of the Son of man. His deep impulse and desire to deliver men from the evils which degraded their conduct and thought, was ever prominent. By a multitude of methods He sought to make men realise their state of alienation from God, their need of reconciliation, of purification, of forgiveness. The realisation of the truth about themselves was the first, the greatest step to rectification, to amendment. Often it was accomplished by a very short interview, almost by a look on the pure face which by contrast revealed the impurity elsewhere. At other times arguments were needed. Sometimes the light of truth was successfully resisted: but every seeker after truth gained ready access to Him and abundant and suitable teaching. Every man and woman found an intelligible condition at the gate of the new life, the "kingdom of heaven," as Jesus called it. Some test was imposed, varying greatly with circumstances—such as a belief in the forgiveness of sins, a belief that a cure would be accomplished, an act of practical beneficence, an act of renunciation, etc.—rarely anything like a belief in a lengthy or a complete creed; but compliance with the test secured Jesus's assurance of pardon or blessing. As far as can be judged from the narratives, the new state of deliverance from evil passions or from sin was to be evidenced by "works meet for repentance," a continual advance in well-doing, a continual practice of those good deeds which He taught.

It was this passionate desire to free mankind from the chains of the lower nature, from the pains due to antagonism to or ignorance of God, that gave Jesus His most binding influence on men. A man who had no selfish aim, no personal object to gain, but who cared supremely to know and to relieve the troubles of those whom He met—this was the man whom the common people heard gladly, and whom they would have forcibly made a king. When He made demands upon them which seemed irksome about the pure and holy life they were to lead, or taught them doctrines which were difficult for them to comprehend or believe, many shrank back: but the germ of faith remained in

many, which later events quickened into vigorous life, and which soon made the foundations of Christianity broad and strong. At first inclined to accept Him as the long-looked-for Messiah who was to restore the temporal kingdom to Judæa, the people afterwards turned against Him because He refused to lead a national movement; but when His death and the subsequent events were felt and reflected upon, they realised and never doubted that He was the true Messiah of the Jews, a belief which the antagonism of the mass of the Jews themselves has no weight in weakening.

His intimate disciples—a body of men admirably chosen as witnesses of His actions and as propagators of His teaching—had no lack of teaching which indicated **The purpose of His life and death.** to them the part which His life and death were to play in raising mankind to a condition of freedom from sin and conscious accord with God. We have various forms of this teaching handed down to us, such as that He came to seek and save the lost, that belief on Him was to secure salvation and heaven, that He gave His blood for the life of the world, that His going away secured the Holy Spirit as a continual comforter for His disciples; but there is nothing which definitely gives any one of the theoretic statements drawn up later by theologians. The precise mechanism of salvation by Himself Christ nowhere expounds—it is so simple, as He states it, as hardly to need any definition; and it is questionable whether all the discussion which has taken place about the “atonement,” “justification,” “vicarious suffering,” “substitutional punishment,” and “forgiveness,” has advanced knowledge at all beyond the simple statements of Christ as given in the gospels.

It is obvious that Christ designed to found a society which should last after His death, and that He chose His disciples as fitting agents for establishing **The society He founded.** and continuing that society. As to the mode in which that society should be governed, no definite regulations were given. The object of His servants was to be holiness, beneficence, and unity of spirit. Most of the details bearing on the conduct of His servants were

given specially to the twelve disciples, but they have been adopted by the general instinct and consent of the majority of Christians; such are the Lord's Prayer, the special efficacy of united prayer, and the two special

The Sacraments. observances termed Sacraments, modes of consecration. It has been elsewhere seen that most religions had "mysteries" and festivals. The highest examples of these are the Christian initiation ceremony of "Baptism," and the Eucharist, or "Supper of the Lord," in which His death is perpetually remembered as a pledge of pardon, a bond of union, and a means of renewal of strength. Of the Lord's Supper it may be remarked that nothing like transubstantiation can have been denoted by it: for the bread was broken and given in the presence of the complete body of Jesus, and the cup of wine was declared to be the new covenant, or the blood of the covenant, when as yet Christ's blood had not been shed. The ideas of magical conversion of substance, or of magical efficacy of the material of the supper, find no support in the earliest accounts; in fact, they seem to be negatived by the words, "*This do in remembrance of Me.*" His blood was shed, said Christ, for many, unto remission of sins; and the remembrance of that supreme act of sacrifice is ever kept fresh in the heart of His followers by the rite which He instituted on the eve of His death.

It is scarcely necessary here to enlarge upon the character of Christ's addresses and teaching. Their superiority to those of any other teacher is well established.

His mode of teaching. It may be granted that the most striking things He said have been preserved, and these show an abundant use of proverbs, parables, similitudes, parallelism, paradox, and even hyperbole. **The gnomic form.** "The gnomic form, in which each thought is rounded off concisely, leaving no cause for further amplification, and thus making it easy for the memory to retain it . . . readily takes the form of Hebrew parallelism (Matt. vii. 2), at one time antithetical (Luke xiv. 11), at another carrying forward the idea on a parallel line (Matt. x. 40), and yet again so presenting one part as an illustration of the

other (Mark ii. 17) that in order to its apprehension it is essential to perceive which side contains the real pith of the idea. A gnome is enlivened by a play upon words, sometimes by the same words being repeated in different meanings in the various sections (Matt. x. 39), at others by different phases of the idea being placed in relation to each other through the choice of a consonant expression (Matt. x. 32). A special peculiarity in the gnostic form, however, is its giving one phase of an idea with great acuteness and force without adding the necessary precautions for its proper application (Matt. vii. 1); it does not consider the inevitable exceptions (Matt. x. 24), nor the precise circumstances in which the saying holds good, and which we can only guess at (Matt. xx. 16, xxv. 29). This is why it so often presents an appearance of one-sidedness (Matt. vii. 7), of paradox (John ix. 39), of exaggeration (Matt. xii. 30; Mark ix. 46), and even of contradiction (comp. John v. 31 with viii. 14, iii. 17 with ix. 39). Out of these apophthegms are formed collections of sayings which revolve round one principal idea or have reference to one definite object."¹

In true adaptation to His hearers' capacities and modes of thinking, Jesus was everywhere definite, concrete, practical in His teaching. These details, of which the most unlearned take hold, were always used by Him as a means of instruction. The concrete and practical. His imagery in most cases deals with what is well known; His metaphors transfer the sensuous to the spiritual sphere; He connects His instruction with nature with a sure touch which itself testifies to a deep underlying oneness with nature and its cause. From nature He teaches God's all-embracing Providence, and the symbolic meaning underlying the commonest events. Every circumstance in the spiritual life is shown to have its analogue in the life of sense, in the phenomena of nature.

In His parables Jesus gave His most original and unique form of instruction. Almost every circumstance of life is

¹ Weiss, "Life of Christ," ii. 108. (Clark's Foreign Theological Library.)

abundantly illustrated by them. "No standing or relation of life is wanting. They are all there, the builder and merchant, the general, doctor, baker and tailor, the wine-drinker and cooper, the rich man and the beggar before his door, the creditor and his debtor, the watchman and the thief, the blind man and his guide, the master of the house exhibiting his treasures, the mother in her sorest need, the maidservant carrying the lamp, the little ones who cast the crumbs from their tables to the dogs, the children at play and the sons at work, the free son and the purchased slave, the servant and the labourer, the bridegroom and his friends, the bride and her maidens, the honoured guests who occupy the best places at the feast, and the man in rags who is thrust forth" (Weiss). And by a free use of the principle of striking contrast, the most powerful rhetorical or emotional effects are produced.

That Jesus predicted future events can only be denied by those who reject the narratives in the gospels, or who believe that they represent misunderstandings of what He said. But it would be most natural for any one who believed himself to be a prophet to refer to future events; and that He predicted His own sufferings, painful death, and resurrection on the third day seems to us most certain. It was not merely a vague foreboding of coming ill, but a definite consciousness of what must inevitably come, that inspired His numerous references to these events; and although the narratives of the gospels appear to obscure several points, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple was definitely predicted, together with certain phenomena attending the end of the world and the final judgment of mankind. Many claim that the fulfilment of near events proves that we may rely on what He foreshadowed of the last days. Others qualify this by saying, that of such transcendent events only a merely approximate notion can be given by any verbal description. But the tremendous picture of the great assize remains as a most potent force, ever working on the religious conscience of mankind.

When we come to speak of the Passion in Gethsemane,

we feel how inadequate all discussion of it must be. Who but the Son of Man could feel the burden He was bearing? With entire determination to ^{His Passion.} do the will of God, the human frame of weakness had to bear the consciousness of the pain involved, the mental



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM (INTERIOR).

sorrow for the Jews who were rejecting Him, for the sin of the world. With as much certainty as His death is recorded, there is narrated His prayer for relief from the death that was coming. Yet, "Not what I will, but what Thou wilt." The cruel details which follow are

intensified by fuller knowledge and reflection respecting them. Bitter taunts of enemies, desertion by His disciples in the hour of need, prolonged physical torment of an overwrought and sensitive nature, a lingering painful death—what wonder that exhausted humanity, left as man to bear the extremest trial, implored God as having forsaken Him? Yet even at this crisis He prayed for His murderers, and commended His soul to God; and His demeanour convinced the Roman centurion who stood by, that He was certainly a righteous Man. Few indeed have ever impugned that testimony.

The Resurrection of Christ, in addition to the actual history of the triumphs of Christianity, constitutes an **The Resur-** element essential to Christianity as hitherto **rection.** understood. A Christianity without a resurrection would be something different; it would lack that which constitutes the supreme stimulus for most people to noble action or patient resignation, the belief that a reappearance after death has taken place, such as to guarantee the possibility or the certainty of life after death. If no resurrection has taken place, Christians may well adopt the words of St. Paul: then is their faith void, and without its chief support, though it may be contended that the rightness of Christian conduct and the perfection of the Christian ideal are independent of a future life and are capable of being realised in the present. Without discussing so complex a matter as the evidence for the resurrection, it may be said that if the evidence we have for its real occurrence cannot be believed, we can believe no remarkable event of ancient times that is not proved in some way not depending on human testimony. Perhaps the most cogent of all is the testimony of St. Paul, **St. Paul's** who wrote nearest to the events of which he **testimony.** spoke, as to the numerous occasions on which Jesus was seen after His death. He was imbued with the most exclusive doctrines of the Pharisees, so antagonistic to the claims of Jesus; he was a most bitter persecutor of the new sect; he was educated to sift evidence in the best way then possible, and in many ways he showed capacity in that art; yet, when we cannot but

believe that he made the most careful inquiries possible



THE CROWN OF THORNS.

to avoid being deceived, he records a number and a

variety of appearances which we must take as being the most matured belief, founded on the best evidence examined by one of the acutest minds of the age, a very short time after the dates at which they occurred; and this belief, with other more internal influences, sufficed to make him the most devoted, the most persevering, the most successful of the founders of Christianity. We cannot doubt that without this belief St. Paul would have regarded his faith as void, his hope vain, and hence we come to a dilemma, only second to that in which we are placed by the nature of Jesus—either this man was deluded or he was dishonest. If he was either, could he have so moved the minds of his contemporaries? Of those who answer that he was deluded, we may ask, Why was no attempt ever made to produce the dead body of Jesus after His burial? Is it conceivable that the poor, scattered, insignificant adherents of Jesus could have stolen and hidden that body in the face of Roman guards and a Pharisaic majority, so that all trace of it or its conveyance should have vanished? Yet, in pursuance of our plan of non-dogmatism, we must leave the question to be determined by each reader for himself. We may note, however, how entirely the recorded appearances of Jesus accord with the spiritual nature of Christianity, in strong contrast to the gross and coarse character of most of the so-called incarnations of Vishnu and other Hindu gods. To quote Dr. Geikie, “Even when most closely touching the material and earthly, He is always seen speaking and acting only as a spirit—coming suddenly, revealing Himself in an imperceptibly increasing completeness, which culminates at last in some unmistakable sign, and presently vanishing as suddenly as He appeared.” It is worthy of remark, that numerous and varied interpretations are possible, and have been put forward, as to what it was that underlay the phenomena seen by Christ’s disciples after His death, and that in going beyond the assertion that essentially the same Jesus—glorified in some indefinable way—appeared, whom they had known before, and proved Himself so by unmistakable signs, no means exist of deciding between rival

hypotheses. The Ascension is the natural culmination of the resurrection appearances ; but here again, if we travel beyond the simple record, we enter a region of speculation which cannot admit of proof.

Here we must leave the greatest subject in the world's history, having but glanced at a few of its aspects very briefly. Men are almost all agreed that the life of Jesus was one of pure beneficence and sinlessness. They are less agreed as to the deeper meaning and effect of His life, and still less agreed to follow His example. That His life has not yet won all its triumphs may be seen by the daily increasing influence of Christian philanthropy as a principle guiding the efforts of those who do not recognise Jesus as Divine. The ideals of citizenship, of care for the poor, weak, and sick, owe to Him far more than can easily be gauged. We cannot imagine what the world would have been without Him.

We cannot here discuss the views held of the birth and the person of Christ. Each theological school has its own standards on these questions, and every man's belief, founded upon careful investigation, is to be respected. We would suggest that the importance of doctrines about Christ is less than the influence of His words and life, and that where these fail to amend and elevate life and character, definitions, dogmas, and doctrines will seldom avail.





CHAPTER II.

Origin of the gospels—Probably written years after events—The Pauline epistles—Repetition of the sayings and doings of Jesus—Early partial narratives—Synoptic gospels—Theories of their origin—Papias—Clement of Rome—Epistles of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas—Justin Martyr—Internal evidences—Date of the synoptic gospels—The Fourth Gospel—Distinctions of style—Doctrine of the Logos—Early testimonies—Internal evidence—Acts of the Apostles—Apocryphal gospels and Acts—Epistle to Hebrews—Epistles of Peter, James and Jude—The Revelation—Manuscripts of New Testament—Sinaitic and other Manuscripts—Versions.

IN the opinion of the great majority of Biblical students the documents recording the life of Jesus proceeded **origin of the** either from His immediate disciples, or from **gospels.** those who learnt the facts directly from them. For those who believe in the entire accuracy of every word of the gospels there are still left the problems, which of the many diversities in the existing manuscripts are correct, and also how the apparently or really contradictory features in the various narratives are to be explained. We can here only take a brief view of a few of the questions surrounding the growth of the gospels and other New Testament books.

Two circumstances prevented the writing of lives of Christ in the very earliest period after His death; viz., the facts (1) that the verbal testimony of those **Probably written years after events.** who had seen and known Him was attainable; and (2) that owing to certain of His expressions, there was a general expectation of His early second coming to judge the world, and to assume the rule over mankind.

When the death of many had thinned the ranks of those who could bear personal testimony, and when the lapse of time made it appear that Christ's second coming might be deferred to a later period, the need for records began to be felt. But before this period had arrived, *The Pauline epistles*, a series of letters, the Epistles of St. Paul, were already in existence, having been written on the spur of particular occasions, which are for the most part specified. Thus 1 Thessalonians was written in A.D. 52 or 53, on the return of Timothy, whom Paul sent from Athens to the Thessalonian Christians. 2 Thessalonians followed some years later. The Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians are obviously written soon after the circumstances related in them, and must be ascribed to dates about A.D. 57 and 58. Several other epistles were written during the apostle's imprisonment at Rome. The so-called Pastoral Epistles (Timothy, Titus) are those on whose authenticity most doubt has been thrown; for although their recognition by orthodox Fathers was widespread and early, some heretical teachers, such as Marcion, rejected them, or did not mention them. They have some peculiarities of phrases and words which do not occur in the other Pauline epistles; and it is not easy to harmonise them with the narrative in the Acts. It is suggested that they were written after St. Paul's release from imprisonment at Rome—a release of which there is an independent tradition. In that case the Acts of the Apostles would be already written before their date, for it appears probable that the record of the apostolic labours was written during St. Paul's imprisonment, and this affords the most satisfactory reason for the sudden ending of the Acts—because nothing more of importance had then happened. Already before any one of the gospels, as we have them, had been written, the Pauline epistles were in existence, and many confidently assert that all the essentials of the character and teaching of Christ can be put together from these alone.¹ Thus we certainly have some documents which substantially, in their present form, have

¹ See Rev. Prof. Beet, "Epistles to Romans, Corinthians and Ephesians" (Hodder and Stoughton).

come down to us from the apostolic age, when the facts and persons mentioned were known, and when critics, who were quite as hostile and as eager to destroy at that time as now, would sharply examine and unsparingly denounce any statements known to be untrue.

When the gospels as we have them began to be written, the narrations given by the apostles and evangelists had already long been current; and as the most striking sayings of Jesus would be often repeated, they must have become widely and generally known. Therefore it is inconceivable that accounts which were largely at variance with the apostles' teaching should have become accepted. It could only be those which were in accord with them that gained general acceptance; and when we find early Fathers as well as some heretics quoting phrases from and referring to the gospels in the second century, we cannot doubt that the gospels which survived them were genuine products of the apostles or their immediate hearers.

Nothing seems more likely than that various early hearers of the apostles should have written down what they had heard; and this is indeed definitely stated in the preface to St. Luke's gospel, which reveals to us its own genesis. Out of fragmentary or partial records, more or less accurate, as well as by personal inquiry, he "traced the course of all things accurately from the first," and wrote them "in order." And this may be taken as the process of construction of the other gospels, with variations dependent upon the writer, his circumstances and his opportunities.

It is evident that many passages are narrated substantially in the same words, though often in a different order, by the three first gospels, which are consequently termed synoptic. Their accounts of the life of Jesus are very similar, even to their recording the majority of the same events and discourses.² In

² "Of a total of 1,071 verses, Matthew has 387 in common with Mark and Luke, 130 in common with Mark, 184 in common with Luke, and 370 peculiar to himself. Of Mark's 662 verses, 406 are

many instances they use precisely the same words, even to the use of rare words or expressions, sometimes quoting from the Old Testament in a form different from either the Hebrew or the Septuagint.

The principal hypotheses on which it is sought to explain the facts are three. The first is that the second evangelist (in order of time) borrowed from the first, and the third from the other two. Thus **Theories of their origin.** Mark has been supposed to have condensed his narrative from Matthew, and Luke to have had both before him when he wrote. The second hypothesis is that of a primitive written gospel, not now in existence, but more or less traceable in the words and passages common to all three synoptists. The third is that there was a common oral gospel, generally diffused in practically identical terms, of which each evangelist made independent use. It can be shown that no one of these views satisfactorily explains every discrepancy or difference. Some regard a combination of all the hypotheses as furnishing the best explanation. In fact, there is a tendency to consider that there were two primary documents: that from which St. Mark may have borrowed, and another described as the "Logia,"—sayings or discourses of Jesus.

Here we may quote from Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, in the first half of the second century. All we have from him is contained in half-a-dozen **Testimony of Papias.** sentences quoted by Eusebius; but their meaning has been unduly strained, and also very insecure inferences have been drawn from what he does not say in these sentences, and from what it is thought Eusebius would certainly have quoted if Papias had said it. Papias wrote an exposition of the oracles (or discourses) of the Lord, and in the fragments quoted by Eusebius and Irenæus we find the earliest extant mention of Matthew common to all three synoptists, 145 common to Mark and Matthew, 60 common to Mark and Luke, and 51 (on a liberal estimate) peculiar to himself. Luke out of 1,151 verses shares 390 with Matthew and Mark, 176 with Matthew, 41 with Mark, and has 511 peculiar to himself. They often agree in a remarkable manner in the order in which they give the events they relate . . . —*Chambers's Encyclopædia*, vol. v., 1890; art. "Gospels."

and Mark as evangelists. He says: "If I met anywhere with any one who had been a follower of the elders, I used to inquire what were the declarations of the elders; what was said by Andrew, by Peter, by Philip, what by Thomas or James, what by John or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of our Lord; and the things which Aristion and the elder (or presbyter) John, the disciples of the Lord, say; for I did not expect to derive so much benefit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice." On the authority of John the elder (whether this is the Apostle John or not cannot be decided), Papias writes: "And this also the elder said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately all that he remembered of the things that were either said or done by Christ; but, however, not in order. For he neither heard the Lord, nor followed Him, but subsequently, as I said, Peter, who used to frame his teaching to suit immediate wants, but not as making a connected narrative of our Lord's discourses. So Mark committed no error in thus writing down particulars just as he remembered them; for he took heed to one thing, to omit none of the things that he had heard, and to state nothing falsely in his narration of them . . . Matthew wrote the oracles (or discourses) in Hebrew, and each one interpreted them as he could." These sentences give the chief basis for the belief that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that Mark's gospel represented the teaching of Peter. But in recent times some incline to think that a primitive Mark and a primitive book of discourses are here referred to; but without any evidence but supposition.

A still earlier document which quotes, though not with absolute precision, from our gospels or from tradition, is **Clement of Rome.** the Epistle of Clement of Rome, addressed to the Church of Corinth, probably as early as A.D. 96. The principal passages are these: "Remember the words of our Lord Jesus, for He said, 'Woe to that man; it were better for him that he had not been born than that he should offend one of My elect. It were better for him that a millstone should be tied about his neck, and that he should be drowned in the sea, than that

he should offend one of My little ones ' ' (Clem. Rom. 46). "Especially remembering the words of our Lord Jesus, which He spake, teaching gentleness and long-suffering. For thus He said, 'Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you; as ye give, so shall it be given unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown unto you; with what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured unto you.' " Whether or not Clement had our gospels when he wrote this, he had documents or traditions which substantially agree with them, and he assumed (by saying 'Remember') that the Church he was addressing had similar sources of knowledge.

Another kind of testimony to the early existence of the synoptic gospels is found in the Epistles of Ignatius, second bishop of Antioch (A.D. 70 to 107 about), *Epistles of Ignatius*. written probably in the first years of the second century. He employs the words of Matthew x. 16, almost verbatim, and has several short but striking phrases peculiar to St. Matthew; but all these passages are mingled with the writer's own words, and not marked as quotations. The authenticity of the various versions of Ignatius is doubted by some, though their early date renders them of great value in any case. They do not refer to any common or authoritative collection of books of the New Testament, but quotations from the Old Testament are prefaced by "It is written." There are frequent references¹ to Christ's life, including His baptism, crucifixion, resurrection, and His miraculous incarnation. There is no reference, however, to any written records of the nature of a gospel. There is, however, one saying of Christ quoted, not included in our gospels, and which indicates the existence of oral tradition. Thus Ignatius says in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans: "For I know and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection; and when He came to Peter and his company, He said to them, 'Lay hold and handle Me, and see that I am not a demon (daimonion) without body' (or 'an incorporeal spirit')." "

¹ See Lightfoot's great work on "The Apostolic Fathers."

The writer also knows several of the Pauline epistles, for he writes to the Ephesians that the Apostle mentions them in every letter, but he does not quote exactly from any one.

The Epistle of Barnabas (variously dated from 70 A.D. to 120 A.D.), without giving a precise reference, appears to

The Epistle of Barnabas. quote from a written book of the New Testament thus: "Let us beware, lest we be found, as it is written, many called, but few chosen." There is an allusion to the language of Matthew ix. 13, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners"; and there is a saying of Christ not found in our gospels: "Even so," saith He, "they that would see Me, and touch My kingdom, must take Me through persecution and suffering." These quotations are of value as showing (1) that the writer was acquainted with passages found in St. Matthew, and (2) that he knew of records or traditions of Christ which have not come down to us. Many believe the epistle not to be genuine because it contains numerous mistakes as to the rites and ceremonies of the Jews.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (bishop of Smyrna, born about A.D. 70, martyred A.D. 155 or 156, the

Epistle of Polycarp. disciple of St. John) uses New Testament language to a considerable extent, without formal quotations, though the fact of St. Paul having written to the Philippians is mentioned; and his quotations include passages (twenty-two in all) from Ephesians, and both Epistles to Timothy, as well as other Epistles. The form in which Polycarp quotes differs considerably from that used by Clement, and probably shows that in his time there was not yet an accepted canon of the gospels.

The writings of Justin Martyr ("Apologies, Dialogues with Trypho"), (A.D. 145-7), contain abundant mention

Justin Martyr. of written accounts of the Life of Christ, though without any author's name being assigned. He speaks of the "Gospel" or "Gospels," the memoirs or recollections of the apostles, and in reference to St. Mark's Gospel, the recollections of Peter. He quotes largely the language of our extant gospels and epistles without much variation, so that the gospel narrative might be fairly

well reconstructed from them; and he says that in his day the memoirs of the apostles were read in the Church service as well as the prophetic books. And from this time onward there is full testimony to the existence of the first three gospels, while a fourth was so well known and approved by Irenæus, writing at the end of the second century, that he was convinced that it was essential that there should be four and only four gospels.

With the majority of readers the force with which a document speaks to them personally will outweigh proofs from external sources, and there can be no doubt **Internal Evidences.** that the force of the words of Jesus as recorded by the synoptic gospels is such that with most persons it compels belief in their genuineness. Even Renan speaks of the "naturalness, the ineffable truth, the matchless charm of the synoptic discourses; their profoundly Hebrew turn; the analogies they present to the sayings of Jewish doctors of the same time; their perfect harmony with the scenery of Galilee." "In all Christian literature," says Salmon ("Introduction to the New Testament"), "there is nothing like them. If, instead of simply reporting these discourses, the first disciples had invented them, they could have invented something else of the same kind. Actually, it is a little surprising that the men who were so deeply impressed by our Lord's teaching, and who so fully imbibed the spirit of it, should never have attempted to imitate its form. In point of style, we travel into a new country when we pass from the synoptic gospels to the apostolic epistles."

As to the date of the synoptic gospels, probably that of Mark was written before the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), and possibly considerably earlier. He omits **Date of the synoptic gospels.** genealogies, the birth and infancy of Jesus, and His appearances after the resurrection. The last twelve verses are not found in the two oldest Greek manuscripts and in some others, and are rejected by many. This appendix was quoted by Irenæus as early as A.D. 170, showing that it had already acquired authority; but in the fourth century Eusebius says that most of the copies in his time omitted these verses. There are many arguments

in favour of Mark's indebtedness to St. Peter; and we may well say with Renan that "Mark is full of minute observations, which, without any doubt, came from an eye-witness. Nothing forbids us to think this eye-witness, who evidently had followed Jesus, who had loved Him, and looked on Him very close at hand, and who had preserved a very lively image of Him, was the Apostle Peter himself." Many small details indicate the originality of the narrative.

There are strong reasons—especially the abundant testimony of the Fathers—for believing that St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Hebrew. Yet the Greek work, as we have it, appears like an original, not a translation; there are many explanations of Jewish terms, customs, etc., as to a non-Jewish people. As to the date at which he wrote, we find in the last two chapters the expression "even to this day" twice over, signifying that a considerable space of time had elapsed since the events recorded. It is implied that the Jews still had a national existence, and from other indications it can scarcely have been written much before A.D. 70.

In St. Luke there are numerous signs of a later date, possibly at least A.D. 80. The tradition of eye-witnesses is spoken of in the past tense; the attempts of "many" to furnish gospel narratives are mentioned; there is a manifest attempt to raise the style of such records; Jesus is frequently referred to as "the Lord," etc. But if we accept an early date for the Acts, it seems to involve also an early date for the Third Gospel.

We come now to the most important and most difficult of all New Testament questions—the authorship of the **The Fourth Gospel**, together with that of the Epistles of St. John. It is clear from numerous coincidences of phrase and of spirit that the author of the Fourth Gospel also wrote the First Epistle of St. John. The earliest writer who mentions St. John in connection with a quotation from the Fourth Gospel is Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, who wrote about A.D. 170–180. He quotes from John i. 1–3, mentioning the Evangelist as one of the men inspired by the Spirit by whom the Holy

Scriptures were written. The Muratorian fragment (A.D. 170) names the Fourth Gospel as by John, one of the disciples. It states that being requested by his fellow-disciples and bishops to write, he said to them "Fast with me three days, and let us narrate what shall have been revealed to each one of us. The same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should describe everything in his own name, all (the rest) calling the past to mind (or revising)." And this agrees with the confirmation given in John xxi. 24, which implies something approaching to joint authorship or some kind of revision. This view is confirmed by the opening of St. John, where "we" is used, followed by the resumption of the first person. Consequently it has been suggested that the gospel was dictated by John, in extreme old age, to an amanuensis, who put it into form afterwards; or even that it represents the work of the disciples of St. John, reproducing the effect of his teaching. The argument drawn from differences between the style of the gospel and of the Apocalypse, that they cannot both have been written by the same author, is not very strong, in the view of those who believe the Apocalypse to have been written not later than A.D. 68, before the fall of Jerusalem, and the Gospel not before 98, an interval of thirty years, sufficient to produce a most marked change of style. It is easy to realise St. John's Gospel as the work of a ripe old age, when every thought of a long life had been perfected and purified, and when affection could give forth its richest geniality.

There can be no doubt, however, that the sayings of Christ recorded in the Fourth Gospel differ noticeably in style and words from those found in the synop- **Distinctions**
tics, and also that they greatly resemble the **of style.**
author's own style and words, so that it is sometimes difficult to determine where one ends and the other begins. Moreover the whole gospel has a marked unity of object and mode of presenting thought, and has a construction apparently designed to set forth certain aspects of truth not presented in the previous gospels. It may be inferred that it was written with full knowledge

of the other gospels, from the absence to a large extent of repetition of narratives, and from the things added. While the writer writes as an eye-witness, he writes as if many years had elapsed since the events took place. It is notable how the universal aspect of Christ's mission is dwelt upon, and how the writer repeats the words in which Christ described the nature of His person and mission. Christ is set forth as the Truth, the perfect revelation of God the Father, the perfect pattern of life, the uniter of the finite and the infinite. Great prominence is given to the idea of various forms of witness to the truth, such as that of God the Father, of Christ Himself, of works, of Scripture, of John the Baptist, of the disciples, of the Holy Spirit of Truth sent from God after Christ's death.

Another aspect of the Fourth Gospel is the prominence it gives to the doctrine of the Logos, or Word. Here we **Doctrine of the Logos.** come to the two most opposite schools of thought on the gospel. Some see in the Fourth Gospel a development of Philo's doctrine of the Logos, such that none but a Hellenic Jew versed in Alexandrian learning could have written it, while some even attribute the gospel to Philo as author. Others, seeing that Philo's Logos is impersonal, regard the use of the idea of the "Word" of God in the Old Testament as representing the personal action of God, as sufficient to suggest the forms of teaching in the Fourth Gospel. Many now consider that Philo's influence on the Fourth Gospel is evident, but that in seizing and presenting the idea of the "Logos made flesh" the latter is strikingly new and original.

Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian (end of second and beginning of third century) quote from **Early testimonies.** the Fourth Gospel freely, and Eusebius (third and fourth centuries), who had access to many works and much knowledge now lost, spoke of it without reserve as unquestionably written by St. John. In the latter part of the second century it was accepted even by heretics and opponents of Christianity. Athénagoras (about 176) plainly uses the language of the gospel as one thoroughly familiar with it. Tatian (about 160 A.D.)

quotes words from the gospel as being well known. The Ignatian epistles contain several of the same phrases, such as "bread of heaven," "bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ," "the spirit knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth." Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, in the epistle which has been preserved, uses a striking verse from 1 John, which must be by the same author as the gospel. Papias, according to Eusebius, used testimonies from "the former epistle of John"; and both these facts, by confirming 1 John, confirm the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Justin Martyr shows in his writings the influence of its teaching about the Word.

But for Christians the internal evidences that St. John wrote the Fourth Gospel (whether it was afterwards edited or not) are full and strong. The author was **internal evidence.** evidently a Jew, with full knowledge of every-
thing Jewish,—opinions, observances, Old Testament, language, style of thought. He was a resident in Palestine, familiar with minute details of time and place. He was an eye-witness of what he described, an apostle; and if an apostle, he could only have been John, for John is the only apostle not named, except by special phrases upon which the subject of them would love to dwell. He alone completely satisfies all the indications.

We cannot here analyse and compare the contents of the gospels; but it may be remarked that the simplest way of accounting for divergences and diversity is by looking at the recorders as human beings capable of mistake or misinterpretation, and the editors or copyists of their works as not exempt from the same frailties. Just because precisely the same picture is not given by each narrator, each biography gains in value, and by careful study and combination it is possible to obtain a much more vivid notion of the character and life of Christ than if none of the narratives varied in style or matter.

That the "Acts of the Apostles" was written by St. Luke is so well attested and so generally received that we need here only note the fact. Its early **Acts of the Apostles.** propagation and acceptance is well established, even though it is doubtful whether writers so early as

Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Papias make distinct references to it or its contents. Dr. Davidson says of the sections in which the narrator uses the first person plural, that they are "characterised by a circumstantiality of detail, a vividness of description, an exact knowledge of localities, an acquaintance with the phrases and habits of seamen, which betray one who was personally present"—who must therefore have been an intimate companion of St. Paul. Renan admits that the similarity in style throughout the book is such that the same author must have written the whole. The book breaks off abruptly, and it is surprising that nothing has been added describing the later life and death of St. Paul; but this is explicable, if the book was written within the two years after the apostle's arrival at Rome (61-63). It may be granted that the matter of the "Acts" does not altogether justify the title, as it gives a partial account only of the deeds of some of the apostles; but it is not certain that this was the original title, though it is undoubtedly very ancient. It is more properly described as a history of the most important facts in the growth of the early Christian Church.

The New Testament books are not the only narratives we have which purport to describe the life of Christ and the early days of Christianity. There are both **Apocryphal Gospels and Acts.** apocryphal gospels and apocryphal Acts. The "Gospel of James," which is known to have existed early in the fourth century and probably earlier, not only supplements our gospels in many particulars, but expands them in many places, especially in regard to events preceding Christ's birth. The most obviously legendary matter is largely included. There is also an early "Gospel of St. Thomas," giving accounts of extraordinary and foolish miracles performed by Christ in His boyhood. The "Gospel of Nicodemus" (a modern title) contains a full account of the trial of Jesus, and of His descent into Hades. Various gospels were in use by the Gnostic sects, one known as the Gospel of the Egyptians, others forbidding marriage. The most important heretical gospel is that known as the Gospel of Marcion, who taught

in the first half of the middle of the second century. He formed a gospel out of the Gospel of St. Luke, omitting every part which was inconsistent with his peculiar doctrines and views. This gospel has not come down to us, but there are sufficient early testimonies by the Fathers as to what it contained. Some have even conjectured that Marcion's gospel was the original out of which Luke's was subsequently constructed, but this has been decisively disproved, and it is evident that his gospel testifies to the early existence and acceptance of St. Luke's. Marcion also rejected the Acts and the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, including only ten Pauline Epistles in his "Apostolicon." There were numerous apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, such as "the preaching of Addai" (Thaddæus) "to Abgarus, king of Edessa," "the Acts of Paul and Thecla," exalting virginity and condemning marriage, the Acts of St. Thomas, of St. Philip, of St. Peter, of St. John, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. All these are so plainly fabulous in their contents that it is not worth while to give details.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, ascribed in our Authorised Version to St. Paul, in the oldest manuscripts bears the simple title "To the Hebrews." The anonymous Epistle to Hebrews. author has been singularly successful in suppressing his identity, for to this day there is the greatest diversity of opinion on the subject. Its early date and authenticity are not however questioned, and it is believed to have been written before the Fall of Jerusalem. It is quoted abundantly in the Epistle of Clement of Rome; and it was believed to be by St. Paul throughout the Eastern Church. But the differences in style between it and the Pauline Epistles have strongly impressed many since the second century; and in the Western Church it was long regarded as doubtful whether it was St. Paul's. Apollos and Barnabas are the two possible authors whose claims are viewed with the greatest favour. Tertullian names Barnabas as the author with great confidence. Careful analysis shows that there are very many words and expressions common to this Epistle and St. Paul's writings and used nowhere else in the New Testament.

The First Epistle of Peter was thoroughly accepted and attested as genuine early in the second century ; but **Epistles of Peter.** it gives internal evidence of its own comparatively late date in its language about persecutions, and can scarcely be dated earlier than A.D. 64, being possibly written at Rome. It shows St. Peter as a strong supporter of the Pauline theology, but with many personal characteristics. As to the Second Epistle ascribed to Peter, there was much doubt as early as the time of Eusebius and Jerome: later, the Church agreed to accept it; since Erasmus and Calvin many have rejected it. This epistle is of special interest as being the only New Testament writing which predicts the entire future destruction of the heavens and the earth by fire.

The Epistle of James has also been much doubted, both Eusebius and Jerome reckoning it doubtful, though **Epistle of James.** Eusebius quotes it as the work of an apostle. Its contents indicate plainly that it was written early in the history of Christianity by a Jew for Christian Jews. There are numerous indications in it of the direct influence of Christ's discourses, as given by a personal follower. The dispute as to whether the second half of the second chapter is an attack upon St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, is answered by saying that "he has denied nothing that Paul has asserted, and asserted nothing that a disciple of Paul would care to deny." St. James's doctrine of works is really found fully expressed by St. Paul. The epistle is characterised by abundance of moral maxims rather than by teaching about Christ.

The Epistle of Jude was accepted as genuine earlier than the preceding. It is remarkable that neither of them **Epistle of Jude.** claims distinctly to be written by an apostle, and it is inferred that James and Judas, the "brothers" of Jesus, were not apostles. Jude quotes twice from apocryphal books, viz., the contest for the body of Moses, from "The Assumption of Moses," and the words of Enoch (verse 14) from the book of Enoch. In several points the contents of the Epistle, such as the reference to the fallen angels, are such as to make it difficult of reception.

The "Revelation of John" is the most valuable specimen of a kind of literature which was abundant in the later Jewish and early Christian period, purporting to reveal the history of mankind and of Jews and Christians. Many believe it to have been written before the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 68 to 70. Many, however, prefer to accept the testimony of Irenæus, the friend of Polycarp, St. John's disciple, who writes that "the Revelation was seen no long time since, but almost in our own generation, towards the end of the reign of Domitian" (A.D. 81-96); and Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Jerome agree that St. John was banished to Patmos during the reign of Domitian. In language of grand imagery, the author gives a picture of the future history of the Church, including the destruction of the Roman empire, the chaining of the devil, the reign of Christ. The glory of the heavenly Jerusalem is set forth in the later chapters in language which is indelibly written in the hearts of Christians, and which has comforted and strengthened multitudes in the trials of life and in the hour of death. There are many arguments which support the belief that St. John wrote the Revelation earlier than the Fourth Gospel; both contain many of the same ideas, though widely divergent in style and matter. The diversity of style is to most persons explained by the state of prophetic ecstasy in which it was written. The interpretation of the book in detail is too complex, and a subject of too great differences of opinion, among orthodox and heterodox alike, to be entered into here.

We will now briefly give an account of the manuscript sources from which the New Testament is derived. Early manuscripts of any important book are rare. and there is no complete copy of Homer of earlier date than the thirteenth century: whereas the manuscripts of the New Testament are comparatively abundant and ancient, testifying to their early importance, and the prolonged care taken of them. Apparently, the oldest now existing is the Codex Sinaiticus, discovered in the convent of St. Catherine on the supposed Mount Sinai on the 4th of February,

1859, by Tischendorf, and now deposited in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. It contains, besides a large portion of the Septuagint Old Testament, the whole of the New, together with the Epistle of Barnabas and part of the Shepherd of Hermas. Though some have attributed it to a later date than the next manuscript, there is a very general assent to its being a true relic of the middle of the fourth century—a view depending on many details of evidence. Its text does not agree precisely with any other.

The Codex Alexandrinus, in the British Museum, derived early in the seventeenth century from Alexandria, contains

Codex Alexandrinus. the whole of the Septuagint, and most of the New Testament, except a great part of St. Matthew, and parts of St. John, and of 2 Corinthians; also the Epistle of Clement of Rome. It dates from the

Codex Vaticanus. beginning or middle of the fifth century. The Codex Vaticanus of the Vatican Library, Rome, has been there since the middle of the fifteenth century (excepting when it was transferred to Paris by Napoleon). It contains the greater part of the Septuagint, and the New Testament down to Heb. ix. 14; the concluding

Codex Ephraemi. portion was added, probably, in the fifteenth century. The manuscript dates from about the middle of the fourth century. The Codex Ephraemi, at Paris, is a specimen of a palimpsest, or manuscript made out after having been partially erased to receive a newer manuscript. Vellum or parchment being valuable in early days, previous manuscripts were often erased and written over. Portions of every part of the New Testament have been recovered from it, amounting in all to two-thirds of the whole. It dates from the fifth century, or even somewhat earlier. The Codex Bezae, in the

Codex Bezae. University Library, Cambridge, presented by Theodore Beza, in 1501, contains the gospels and Acts in Greek and Latin. It exhibits many bold and even extensive interpolations, some of them supported by the Old Latin and Syriac versions: all other Greek manuscripts are of the seventh or later centuries. The earliest dated manuscript yet discovered bears the date A.D. 949,

and the dates of others have to be inferred from various kinds of evidence. There are also some very early manuscripts of parts of the New Testament. All before the tenth century are written in uncial characters, or capital letters, each formed separately, and in the earlier manuscripts without any space between the words.

Seeing that all the earliest manuscripts differ considerably in details, the earliest copies of versions in other languages than Greek become of great importance. Consequently, the Peshito Syriac, used by the Eastern Church long before the separation,¹ and the old Latin translations, are in the first rank as authorities, for they apparently represent a text of the New Testament which existed in the middle of the second century A.D. There are other versions, the Egyptian, the Curetonian Syriac, the Latin Vulgate, the Gothic, Armenian and Ethiopian, which are of high value, some having been made as early as the third or fourth century. The Peshito is the most valuable, being extremely faithful where it can be judged, remarkable for ease and freedom, and seldom loose.

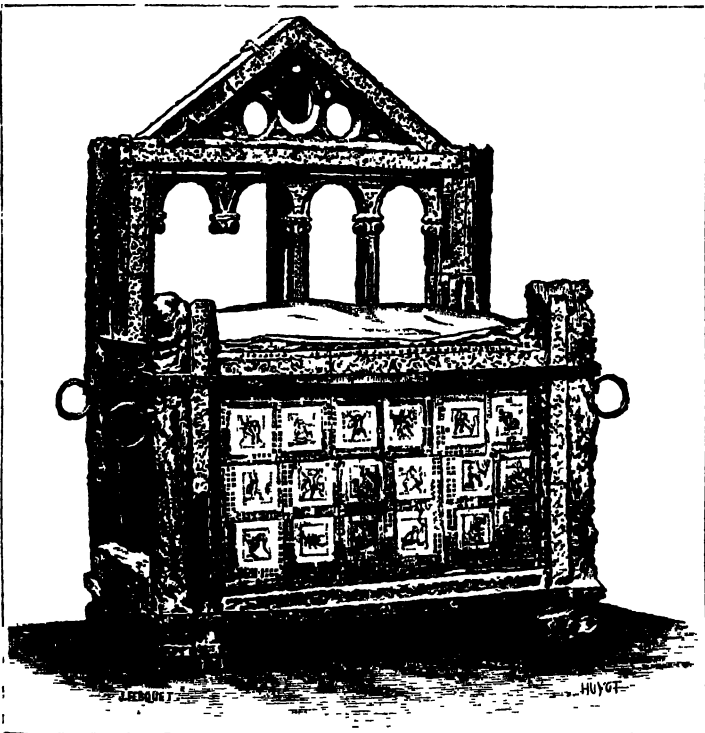
Versions.

**Peshito
Syriac and
Old Latin.**

Quotations in the early Fathers are of much less value than might have been expected, for accuracy and precision in quotation were evidently not much considered by them; and what they quoted has often been altered in copying.

The autographs of the New Testament authors appear to have perished early, and the early Fathers refer to ancient and approved copies, never having apparently seen any originals. Some critics still hope to recover an original text, either by the discovery of new manuscripts, or by comparative and minute study of all the evidence supplied by existing manuscripts. Many of these have as yet not been carefully collated or criticised. It is evident that the true readings cannot be derived from any one set of authorities, but must be the result of a patient comparison and weighing of the evidence of all taken together.

¹ This version is now used alike by the Nestorians in Kurdistan, the Monophysites in Syria, the Christians of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar, and the Maronites of Lebanon.



ST. PETER'S CHAIR AT ROME.

CHAPTER III. The Apostolic Times.

Difficulty of founding the Church—St. Peter—The Rock and the Keys—First successes—Martyrdom of Stephen—Persecution—Admission of Gentiles—His later actions and influence—St. Paul—His early life—His conversion—His labours at Antioch, Corinth, and Ephesus—Arrest at Jerusalem—Imprisonment at Rome—His character—His writings—His theology—His teaching about Christ—Human faith—Penalty for sin—The new spirit of the Christian—Jewish ideas of sacrifice—The Church as the Body of Christ—Ministry—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—Lofty outbursts—Teaching as to women—St. John—His first Epistle—St. James Faith and works—The first general persecution—Pliny and Trajan—Ignatius—His epistles and martyrdom at Rome—Polycarp—His martyrdom at Smyrna.

THERE can be no manner of doubt that the life and death of Christ, combined with the preaching of His

disciples, founded the Christian Church. But a careful consideration of the gospels will show that surprisingly little in the way of a definite Church existed at the time of the Crucifixion, and that it almost entirely lacked formal doctrines and organisation. Thus an enormous work was left to be accomplished by those who had received and assimilated the direct teachings of Jesus. Deprived of the inspiration of His bodily presence, they had to act, in order to succeed, as boldly and courageously and wisely as if they still had the stimulus of His presence and encouragement; and it is claimed by the Christian Church that it was only in virtue of a realisation of His invisible aid and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit which He had promised to them that they accomplished what they did.

Everything appeared to be against the chances of the establishment of the new religion. The Founder was dead under circumstances of shame and of desertion by His disciples. A prominent disciple, Peter, had denied knowing Him with oaths and curses. The triumphant enemies of Jesus were ready to crush His followers if they dared to show themselves. Yet, by some extraordinary stimulus, which is most rationally referred to their absolute certainty of having seen their risen Master, and to their feeling an overpowering impulse to tell what they had experienced in their companionship with Him, they succeeded in drawing to their ranks within a few weeks many thousands of adherents in Jerusalem, the scene of the Crucifixion; and the recreant disciple became the most prominent of the apostles, bold, fiery, and eloquent. According to the extant narratives, he had been distinguished by a special appearance of Christ to him after His resurrection, and he had received from Him a special pastoral charge over His "sheep" and "lambs." Previously to his denial of Christ he had made a notable and full confession of belief in Him as "the Christ the Son of the living God," and had received a blessing containing the words, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church. . . . I will give unto thee the keys of

**Difficulty of
founding the
Church.**

St. Peter.

**The Rock and
the Keys.**

the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," etc. These words are relied upon by the Church of Rome as constituting



STATUE OF ST. PETER, IN ST. PETER'S, AT ROME.

Peter the head of the Church, and as giving him power to transmit his headship ; and in other ways they are regarded as establishing the powers claimed by Roman Catholicism. It is held by opponents of this view (1)

that Christ spoke of Himself, not Peter, as the Rock ; (2) that Peter's confession of faith was the rock ; or (3) that Peter is addressed in a representative capacity as chief disciple. Whatever may have been the meaning, we find Peter taking the lead on the day of Pentecost as the chief preacher and exponent of the new teaching. Yet we have no sign of a dictatorship or even primacy on his part ; he did not act apart from the other apostles ; at a later time, St. James occupied the leading position at Jerusalem ; and there is no record that St. Peter transmitted or assigned his position to any one at his death.

A wonderful enthusiasm was excited by the first preaching of the Gospel and the signs and wonders which followed it. A tendency to live in social unity, with a common fund, was manifested, and the **First successes.** only care of the first Christians was to continue praying and worshipping in the Temple and testifying to the truth. Soon, however, the high priest and the Sadducees grew alarmed at the success of the new party, especially as it condemned their own recent action, and before long they stoned to death a convert named Stephen, **Martyrdom of Stephen.** who himself was preaching with great power. Stephen had proclaimed at the end of his defence that he "saw the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God," and we may trace some affinity between this vision and that which subsequently converted Saul, afterwards Paul, a young man who took part in the stoning by protecting the clothes of the witnesses to Stephen's so-called blasphemy. Stephen's dying utterance, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," reminds us of his Master's similar prayer for the forgiveness of His murderers.

This tragedy was followed by a persecution which, scattering the infant Church, was a means of its spread. Saul took violent action in entering houses and forcibly dragging Christian men and women to **Persecution.** prison. Among the places to which the Gospel was carried by Philip the evangelist was Samaria, and the Samaritans readily accepted his teaching. Peter, going down with

John to establish the converts,¹ was besought by Simon, a magician, to impart to him for money the power which attended his laying his hands on the believers, and received a crushing rebuke. By this incident traffic in holy things for money was once for all condemned, and from it we have derived the term "simony." Another important

Admission of Gentiles by Peter. event was the call of Peter to teach Cornelius, a devout Roman centurion at Cæsarea, and his first opening the teaching of the Gospel to Gentiles. His action in baptising him and his household is recorded to have been based on their "having received the Holy Ghost" like the Jewish converts. Peter had learnt the great truth that God is no respecter of persons, and that "in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him." The apostles and other Christians at Jerusalem, who at first objected to Peter's action, when they heard the details found their objections silenced, and said, "Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life."

After this period, and his deliverance from prison, when the Apostle James had been killed by Herod Agrippa (A.D. 40), we have little direct information about Peter, except when he took the **Peter's later actions and influence.** lead at the so-called council of Jerusalem, and maintained the conditions of equality on which he had admitted Gentiles to the Church. But he did not call, preside at, or pronounce the decision of the council, and these facts appear fatal to the Roman claims as to the primacy of St. Peter. From this time Peter mainly preached to Jews, and still remained so far attached to Jewish practices that he incurred a sharp rebuke from Paul at Antioch for withdrawing from eating with the Gentile converts. It is believed that Peter visited Corinth, and by many that he visited Rome, and was martyred there, probably A.D. 67. His impressive energy, power of rapid decision and action, and practical tendency, if at

¹ This occurrence marks the institution of "confirmation" by laying on of hands; which the Western Church has always maintained should be performed by a bishop.

times too strongly inclined to follow apparent expediency, had a powerful effect in establishing the early Church.

But a greater light arose out of the martyrdom of Stephen. The first martyr of Christ had a distinct influence in developing the Apostle to the Gentiles. But here also the great teacher was a Jew of the purest lineage, though born a Roman citizen St. Paul. in a city distant from Palestine. The Semitic element was all powerful in founding the new Church. Taught by Gamaliel, a leading rabbi, Paul at first far outdid his teacher in his fanatic regard for Jewish usages. His early life. It appears that St. Paul had never seen Jesus before the date of his vision while on the way to Damascus to extend the area of his persecution of the Christians. His religious life was early of a very intense kind; and after he had seen, as he was certain, the living Christ, just as evidently as He was seen by the apostles after His death, he became even more energetic as a His conversion. preacher of Christianity than he had been as a persecutor. Even if this vision is regarded as one of ecstasy, and as describing an inward and not an objective vision, nothing can get rid of the fact that something sufficiently powerful transformed a violent persecutor into an ardent believer and a zealous preacher of Christianity against the severest difficulties and opposition. Paul himself solemnly declared that his commission to teach, and the matter of his teaching, had been directly received from Christ; and those who even think they can account for the success of his preaching by various natural causes, have to charge Paul with being either a deceiver or a visionary, which will not readily fit in with his practicality of method all through. His preaching rested upon no human commission; he was the Apostle of the Gentiles, "not from men, neither through man."

We shall not attempt to describe the events of his well-known life, his indefatigable labours, his extraordinary successes among the most diverse peoples, his His labours. terrible sufferings, his heroic fortitude, his dauntless courage. It is evident that the Acts of the Apostles records but a small portion of his labours. We

derive a fuller notion of them from his own epistles, where he describes his numerous whippings by **His labours.** the Jews, his beating by the Roman lictor's rods, his being stoned, his three shipwrecks, his many perils, his sufferings from hunger and thirst, from cold and nakedness. He was prominent in the founding of the Church at Antioch, where the name "Christian" was first applied to the converts, and where the Gentiles and the Jews first lived in common. He also planted the Gospel throughout Asia Minor, in Macedonia and Greece. Although he always seems to have preached first to the Jews in any place he visited, it became obvious and acknowledged that his chief mission was to the Gentiles, and he insisted that no burdensome or ceremonial obligations of the Mosaic law should be laid upon them.

Paul had less success in philosophic Athens than among the crowded masses of industrial cities, where the sensuality of the rich and the wretchedness of the **At Corinth and Ephesus.** poor and the slaves afforded him full scope for his fiery preaching. Corinth and Ephesus were two such centres. 1 Cor. iv. 11-13 gives a vivid picture of his painful life in Ephesus, an object of scorn and humiliation, a suffering, hungry worker of uncertain habitation, "dying daily." At one time he had to fight with beasts in the arena; at another he was barely saved by Prisca and Aquila, "who for his life laid down their own necks." One noticeable effect produced at Ephesus was the falling off of the trade of the silversmiths who made models of Artemis and of her temple for sale to worshippers; and this led to a disturbance, which was followed by his second visit to Europe. During this journey he described himself (2 Cor. vi. 9, 10) as dying yet living; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. Then, as always, he remembered the poor and suffering, and took especial pains to obtain a large contribution for the Christians of Palestine, which he himself took to Jerusalem. On his way he touched at Ephesus, and in his farewell address to the Ephesian elders quoted a saying

of Jesus not given in the Gospels, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." At Jerusalem he was soon attacked as a molester of Jewish customs and a polluter of the temple. The Roman governor, who had seized him in order to protect him, was constrained to grant him the appeal to the Roman Emperor (Nero), and to send him to Rome, where, according to the Acts, he was kept in a qualified state of imprisonment for two years, having opportunity to teach those who came to him, making converts among the Jews, the Prætorian guard, and even the Imperial household. Whether he was released after this and afterwards preached in Spain, whether he was in fact martyred at Rome in A.D. 64 is by no means certain, though generally believed. He is described in the "Acts of Paul and Thekla" as "a man small in stature, bald-headed, bow-legged, stout, close-browed, with a slightly-prominent nose, full of grace; for at one time he seemed like a man, at another time he had the face of an angel."

Occupying, by common consent, the second place in the history of Christianity, St. Paul is surpassed by no man in the variety of his experiences, and only by his Master in his readiness and power of adaptation to every circumstance. Intensely human, his natural impulse was to gain and exert a predominant influence; his disciplined aim was to use his influence entirely to propagate the most important truth, and to elevate and strengthen mankind. It is impossible to conceive a man undertaking such labours and perils without an inner conviction amounting to certainty of his Divine commission; and no one impeaches his sincerity. Equally impossible is it to explain away his achievements. Few will deny that Paul was one of the greatest men who have ever lived. By turns practical administrator, organiser, conciliator, pleader, orator, reasoner, original thinker and writer, he was actuated in everything by an absorbing devotion to the end he had in view, to persuade men to union with God through Jesus Christ. And if in the fervour of his advocacy he perhaps too lightly assumed that his view of human nature included every-

thing, and was too urgent in pressing every one into his own mould, it was because of the strength and sincerity of his beliefs, and because, if all he thought was true, every man and woman was in imminent danger of eternal death.

In his teaching about Divine things, while very largely practical, Paul was intensely theological—the founder of **His writings.** theology as now understood. Not having been a companion of Jesus, he was not surcharged with His personal teachings, and rarely quotes Him. He rather comes before us as one who had absorbed the spirit of Jesus, and superadded to it the conceptions of a mind persistently endeavouring to gain definite ideas of the system of Divine and human relationships. Thus the matter of his epistles is quite different in style and form from that of any other New Testament writer. It is as if he had laboured to arrive at a clear understanding of man's nature and dreadful sinfulness and the remedies for it, and had spent his utmost effort to express this. He did not possess all the highest literary gifts, and is sometimes complex and involved; sometimes his analogies are imperfect; sometimes his thoughts do not seem logically to grow out of one another. His impulsiveness sometimes hurries him rapidly through a high flight of thought; but he is essentially a theologian for the most part, and tries to present a sort of mathematical view of salvation.

His theology¹ was based upon the universal fact of sin, wrong-doing, and the tendency to do wrong, a state of disobedience to God's law, assumed to be known **His theology.** by every man. This is so far personified that we seem to verge near something like the Zoroastrian Ahriman, a personality constantly suggesting evil actions and seeking to antagonise and crush good impulses. The fact of death coming upon all men is adduced as a proof that all have sinned. The fact that Adam sinned is put forward as involving the necessary sinfulness and death of all his descendants. There was for the Jew a law

¹ See Dr. Hatch's valuable article on St. Paul in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

given by Moses which it was impossible for him perfectly to obey; there was for the Gentile an inner law of the heart telling him what was right and rebuking his transgressions; but his fleshly desires were in permanent captivity to sin.

Thus, without God's intervention, which, however, was foreordained and as much part of the general scheme as sin had come to be, man's state was one of hopeless ruin. This intervention was in the form of His Son Jesus Christ, made a true man, freely given and giving Himself, intended to die for man on the cross and to be raised again. This latter event was the guarantee of the truth of the Gospel, of man's forgiveness by God. The varying expressions of Paul about the way in which the death of Christ saved man have afforded the basis for various theories of redemption. Christ "became obedient unto death," He was "made to be sin ^{His teaching about Christ} for us," "Christ our Passover is sacrificed," "we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son," "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself," "ye were bought with a price." The sinner, as a condemned criminal, might be acquitted by the favour of God through the death of Christ. Christ and His followers are represented as having together died to sin, and together risen to righteousness. Thus men might once more become righteous by the gift of God, might receive a new life, might be adopted as the sons of God.

Although this salvation was intended and prepared for all men, they could only enter into its enjoyment by the co-operation of their own mind and will, through ^{Human faith} faith, that faculty by which one is convinced of and mentally appropriates that which is not immediately tangible. Thus men are said to be saved by their faith, as well as by Christ's blood; and their new righteousness is the result of faith. They can only do this by an act of repentance, of grief for past sins, and a resolute turning away from them.

Great objections were evidently raised against this doctrine, as one which condoned all sins without the payment of a personal penalty; it appeared to pass over crimes

too readily, and no State has refrained from punishing **Penalty for men for crimes because of their becoming sin.** Christians afterwards. Nor is Paul able, in the imperfect knowledge of his time, to lay full stress on the physical and social punishment which attends and follows wrong-doing in this world, and on the doctrine of physical heredity, which explains much that is most striking in his theory of sinfulness and death through "Adam." The view that the Christian doctrine of forgiveness wrongly condones crimes, and that it is immoral to conceive of a guiltless person as suffering the penalty due to the guilty, has not yet lost its influence, and forms a perpetual question for the Christian philosopher. St.

The new spirit of the Christian. Paul describes the saved man as actuated, even filled, by a new spirit. Christ's Spirit dwells in him. It is impossible for him to sin, so long as he realises his new state; and after lapses, repentance brings reinstatement. The new life of mankind is intimately connected with the hope of the general resurrection, of which Christ's resurrection is a pledge. The advent of Christ, which Paul conceived as near at hand, was to be followed by a reign during which He will put all enemies under His feet. Sometimes unbelievers are threatened with eternal destruction; at others we are told that in Christ *all* will be made alive. On this subject, as on numerous others, we may account for the variety of presentation by the fact that the work and influence of Christ had various bearings, and could only be adequately stated by using such variety. It was so great that no one form of words sufficed to describe it fully.

There is much in Paul's theology which is closely—too closely and pedantically, according to some—linked with **Jewish ideas of sacrifice** Jewish ideas of the necessity of sacrifice—especially if we regard the Epistle to the Hebrews as his. It was also related to philosophy, the free-will and necessity controversy, Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Asceticism. The doctrine of predestination has been founded very largely on certain expressions of his, while others, displaying the freewill of man, are equally quoted

by its opponents. The question whether salvation is by works or by grace alone is largely a matter of discussion from his writings.

The body of a Christian was described by Paul as "the temple of the Holy Ghost." Every believer was part of Christ's body. The whole number of believers constituted a collective "body," the Church of Christ; and the members each had their function, without the due discharge of which the whole body suffered. We gain a good idea of the local communities from his epistles, and the way in which their diversities of gifts were utilised. Every man had the right to speak in the assemblies, but this right was withheld from women, as among the Jews. A system of government, depending sometimes upon the vote of the assembly, sometimes upon the authority of the apostles or elders, was gradually built up; and in various ways the new life showed itself in original composition, in teaching, and in works of mercy and hospitality carried to an extent little practised before. Every such work was part of the ministry (*diakonia*), and every worker was so far a deacon. The special fixing of the name deacon, presbyter, bishop, on particular individuals, arose by natural evolution as the churches became organised. What is known as the priestly power is little manifested in St. Paul's references to any but himself, the other apostles, Timothy, and Titus, and it shows no tendency to assume a power to forgive sins, or to pass beyond the declaration of forgiveness through Christ. Baptism was the mode of formal admission to the Church, and believers were regarded by Paul as buried with Christ through baptism, and rising with Him in newness of life. Baptism made all men brothers in Christ Jesus, so that afterwards he recognised no distinction of persons—Jew and Greek, slave and freeman, were all equal. All partook of a common meal, the Lord's supper, thus realising the unity, and participating mystically in the body and blood of Christ, as symbolised by bread and wine.

In the midst of doctrinal elaborations, St. Paul again

and again breaks into lofty outbursts like the unsurpassed **Lofty outbursts** description of Christian love in 1 Corinthians xiii., and the apostrophe to the wisdom and knowledge of God (Rom. xi. 33-36). By such passages, quite as much as by his powerful doctrinal statements, going to the root of human difficulties, St. Paul still influences the world far more than it knows.

In one important direction many hold that St. Paul falls behind the loftiest ideal—namely, in the position he **Teaching as to women.** assigns to women. Many of his references to them emphasise their subjection and subordination to men. As regards wives, he finds an analogy between the relation of the Church as subject to Christ, and that of wives to husbands.

The Apostle John also ranks among the foremost of the founders of Christianity; but we are singularly ignorant **St. John.** as to his personal history, with the exception of the incidents recorded in the gospels. The name given by Christ to him and his brother James, “Boanerges,” sons of thunder, implies something different from the idea of gentle feminine affection so generally associated with St. John, and was justified by several actions and sayings of the brothers. But he is specially distinguished as “the disciple whom Jesus loved,” and as having been entrusted by his Master with the care of His mother after His death. From this time forward we have no trace of his special individual action, though he took part in the general proceedings of the infant Church at Jerusalem. According to tradition, he spent most of his later life at Ephesus, and lived to a great age, having among his disciples Polycarp, Papias, and Ignatius, and **His first Epistle** dying about the close of the first century. His first epistle is one of the most important books in the New Testament. It nowhere deals with the Christian life in the tone of St. Paul, but bears strong testimony to the reality of Christ’s history. It gives a view of the nature of the Divine Being, “God is light,” which adds to the repertory of Biblical descriptions of God, and he applies the image in a number of ways. Christians have confessed their sins and are forgiven, and the “blood of

Jesus" cleanses them from all sin. They are the sons of God, and the proper fruit of that relationship is sinlessness. Their true life is to be manifested by love. Christ had laid down His life for them, and they ought to be willing to lay down their lives for their brethren. It was only by mutual love that the real Christian life could be shown. With matchless simplicity, directness and clearness, the apostle describes the place love occupies in the Christian life and evidences.

It cannot be precisely decided what is meant by the designation of "brethren of the Lord," in which the authors of the Epistles of James and Jude are included. They naturally had great influence St James. in the early Church; and the Epistle of James is a robust, weighty document, addressed to Jewish converts to Christianity, designed to elevate their standard of practical life. It appears to have been written in a time of difficulty and persecution, and contains many expressions bearing specially upon such a season. He condemns the lack of full trust in God, and a too great regard for temporal possessions, and reminds his readers of the perfection of God's gifts, and the unchangeableness of His nature. It is a matter still under dispute whether it was written before or after St. Paul's epistles, and whether it makes any reference to his doctrines. Many regard Faith and works. the epistle as directed against mistaken inferences from St. Paul's teaching. "The argument turns mainly on the interpretation of the doctrine of faith and works in James ii. 24, which formally, at least, is in direct opposition to Romans iii. 28. Now it is certain that the antithesis between Paul and James is not really so sharp as it appears in the verses just cited, because the two do not attach the same meaning to the word "faith." In fact, James's faith without works is not Paul's justifying faith, but the useless faith without love spoken of in 1 Corinthians xiii. We have to deal with two types of doctrine using the same terms in different senses, so that it is not inconceivable that the two may really be capable of such reconciliation in the practical Christian life as to make their divergences unimportant." (Prof. Lumby.)

The persecution under which the apostles Peter and Paul have both been generally believed to have been martyred became known as the first general persecution.

The first general persecution. It took place (A.D. 65) under Nero, who, having set fire to Rome, charged the Christians with the crime. Those who were arrested were horribly treated, some being crucified, others set on fire, others clothed in wild beasts' skins and torn by dogs; and such cruelty gained compassion for the victims even from the Romans. The persecution was widely extended through the provinces, and the Christian religion was proscribed by laws and edicts. Fortunately for the young Church, before the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus, in A.D. 70, the Jerusalem Christians had withdrawn to Pella, a village in Decapolis beyond the Jordan. There was no cessation, however, in the spread and progress of the new religion, and about 95 or 96 the Emperor Domitian set on foot the second great persecution.

The third persecution of which we have any account is that of Trajan, dated about 112. We learn from a well-known letter of Pliny the younger, as proconsul of Bithynia, that he had put to death those Christians who were informed against and obstinately refused to recant; those who denied that they were Christians were compelled to invoke the gods, and supplicate the emperor's image with incense and wine, and to curse the name of Christ. Pliny's testimony as to the early Christian practices is very valuable. He says, "They affirmed this to have been the utmost of their crime or error, that they were accustomed on a fixed day to assemble before daylight, and sing a hymn alternately to Christ as to a god; and they bound themselves by a sacred oath, not to some crime, but to commit neither thefts, nor robberies, nor adulteries; not to break their word, not to deny a deposit when called upon: which being over, they departed, but came together again to take food, in common, and without any guilt." The meeting day here spoken of is generally believed to have been "the Lord's day," or first day of the week, and the common meal is iden-

tified with the love-feast eaten in connection with the Lord's Supper.

Pliny's measures brought back many to the worship of the temples. Trajan, in reply to him, directed that while informers and anonymous accusations were to be discouraged, those convicted must be punished; but those who renounced Christianity and supplicated the gods were to be pardoned. The death of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who has been previously mentioned (p. 177), is referred to the persecution under Trajan. Ignatius is said to have been one of the disciples of St. John, and at any rate was contemporary with some of the apostles. He appears to have been condemned to death about A.D. 107, and to have been sent to Rome, where he Ignatius. was killed by beasts in the sports of the arena.

A good many details of his journey to Rome are preserved in his celebrated epistles. That addressed to the Romans contains some striking meditations on his approaching martyrdom; indeed, it has been called a martyr's manual, and from early times had a great influence on others. He rejoiced in the prospect of his death. "Let me be given to the wild beasts," he wrote, "for through His them I can attain unto God." His journey had martyrdom. been a constant struggle with wild beasts (the guards who accompanied him). "Let fire and cross, and grapplings with wild beasts, wrenching of bones, hacking of limbs, crushings of my whole body come. . . . Only be it mine to attain unto Jesus Christ. It is good for me to die for Jesus Christ rather than to reign over the farthest bounds of the earth. Him I seek, who died on our behalf; Him I desire, who rose again. The pangs of a new birth are upon me. When I am come thither, then shall I be a man. Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God." Parts of his epistles attack the docetism of the time, which denied Christ's humanity. His evidence is also important as to the early appointment and recognition of bishops.

His friend Polycarp, another disciple of St. John, was also martyred, but many years later. He was learned, of spare diet and simple clothing, a liberal almsgiver. At

an advanced age he was chosen bishop of Smyrna, and **Polycarp.** was a companion of Papias and Ignatius, who, indeed, charged him to write to the churches eastward of those to whom he had written. His only extant letter to the Philippians has already been referred to. Various testimonies show that Polycarp exercised very wide influence. Irenæus, afterwards bishop of Lyons (A.D. 177), a pupil of his, has described many characteristics of his person, teachings, and character.

Polycarp, in his later years, visited Rome, where he conferred with Bishop Anicetus about the time for celebrating the death of Christ, which, Polycarp said, according to the practice of St. John and the other apostles with whom he had spoken, should be kept on the day of the Jewish Passover, the 14th Nisan, on whatever day of the week it might fall. Polycarp's end came as a consequence of a popular demand for victims for the public games in Smyrna. The cry "Away with the atheists!" (disbelievers in the Greek and Roman gods) "Let search be **His** made for Polycarp," led to his apprehension, **martyrdom.** when, after a simple "God's will be done," he stood and prayed for two hours, and then went steadfastly before the authorities and refused to recant. When pressed to revile Christ, he said, "Fourscore and six years have I served Him, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I speak evil of my King, who saved me?" He was led to a stake and burnt to death (A.D. 155 or 156). With his sufferings, it is said, the persecutions of the Christians for a time ceased.

It is evident from these examples that the men who immediately succeeded the apostles were inspired by the same spirit, endued with the same love for the truth they had received, and resolute to die rather than deny their Lord and Master. It was this spirit, this resolution to face death rather than do, say, or acknowledge anything they believed untrue to Christ and to their religious belief, which laid the foundation of the Christian Church so broadly and strongly during the early centuries, when the vast power of the Roman empire was continually occupied in discouraging and often in trying to exterminate it.



THE SEVEN SONS OF ST. FELICITAS, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MARTYRED
UNDER MARCUS AURELIUS.

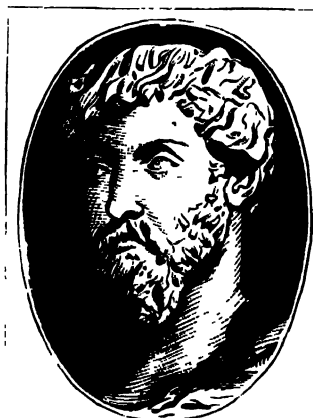
CHAPTER IV.

Christianity Persecuted: Second and Centuries.

Persecution by Marcus Aurelius—A Roman senator martyred—Wide spread of Christianity in second century.—Persecution by Septimius Severus—Period of toleration—Persecution by Decius—Cyprian on flight—The martyr spirit at Rome—Gallienus's edict of toleration—Persecution of Diocletian—Galerius's decree of toleration—Constantine grants religious freedom—"Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"—Justin Martyr—His first apology—Second apology—Dialogue with Trypho—Justin's characteristics—Melito—Tatian—Athenagoras—Theophilus of Antioch—Irenæus—The Pseudo-Clementine writings—Clement of Alexandria—Origen—His works—"First Principles"—"Answer to Celsus"—Hippolytus—Tertullian—Cyprian—Heretical baptism—The unity of the Church—Ebionism—Gnosticism—Basilides—Valentinus—Marcion—Tatian—The Encratites—Manichæism—Manes, or Mani—The Monarchians—Paul of Samosata—The Patripassians—Sabellius—The Montanists—The Millenarians—Churches—The Church—Catechumens—Baptism—Confirmation—Worship—The Lord's Supper—Love-Feasts—Eucharistic doctrine—Discipline—Fasting—Easter—The Quartodecimans—Whitsuntide—Growth of the priestly order—Bishops—Popular election—Parish and diocese—Metropolitan, archbishop, patriarch—The bishopric of Rome—Unity of the Church.

IN dealing very briefly with the vast amount of interesting history pertaining to the first ages of the Church, we shall first refer to the general course of the history, then to the great teachers and writers, and the chief heretical movements affecting the Church, and finally describe the main features of Church life and organisation in the first three centuries.

The philosophic emperor, Marcus Aurelius (B.C. 161–180), a sceptic about the gods he upheld, strangely enough was a more severe persecutor of Christianity than his predecessors. Adopting from the Stoics their incredulity



MARCUS AURELIUS.

about marvels, and contemning what he thought the obstinacy or tragic airs of the Christians, he was not unwilling to see in their refusal of homage to the gods to whom he paid outward homage an act of treason against his own majesty. The calamities which occurred during his reign were followed by fresh outbreaks of persecution more or less throughout his empire. Some of the inscriptions in the catacombs of the Christians at Rome record the severity of their lot, and the fact that

they resorted even to caverns to worship, without being able to escape martyrdom. During the time of M. Aurelius, Justin Martyr was beheaded at Rome (about 166), Polycarp suffered at Smyrna, Melito at Sardis, Pothinus, bishop of Lugdunum (Lyons), in Gaul (177). In the latter province Christian slaves were crucified, natives of Gaul were thrown to wild beasts, and Roman citizens beheaded by order of the emperor. Dogs were allowed to eat the bodies, and what they left was burnt and the ashes thrown into the Rhone in contempt for the belief in the resurrection. The famous Irenæus, after-

wards successor of Pothinus, carried a letter from the Gallic churches to those of Asia and Phrygia describing these events.

During the reign of Commodus (180-192), there is recorded the striking fact of the martyrdom of a Roman senator, Apollonius, who, however, was permitted to read a full apology for his faith before the whole Senate. By the close of the second century Christianity had been preached with success in every province of the Roman empire, even possibly in Britain, though we cannot trust the tradition relating that a British

A Roman
senator
martyred.

king, Lucius, sent to Pope Eleutherus begging for instruction in Christianity.

Wide spread of
Christianity
in second
century.

Beyond the Roman dominions, Parthia, Media, Persia, and various barbarous tribes of Europe had been evangelised with more or less success.

In 202 the emperor Septimius Severus, who had at

Persecution
by Septimius
Severus



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

been favourable to the Christians, issued an edict forbidding his subjects to embrace Judaism or Christianity, and this edict started the fifth general persecution. In Egypt and the African province the Christians suffered severely. Leonidas, the father of Origen, and Potamiana, a virgin of great beauty and courage, were among the martyrs at Alexandria. Potamiana is related to have been first cruelly tortured, and then killed by immersion in boiling pitch. Her behaviour so affected Basilides, the officer who led her to death, that he treated her with humanity, and afterwards declared himself a Christian. In Africa, possibly at

Carthage, Perpetua, a young wife, Felicitas, a slave, and others suffered at a show on the birthday of Geta, son of Severus. The persecutions diminished under Caracalla (211-217); while Elagabalus (218-222), absorbed in his

Period of toleration. own idolatrous projects, appears to have tolerated all forms of religion, and to have proposed to celebrate, in the universal temple which he built on the Palatine Hill, the rites of Jews and Samaritans, as well as Christians. His successor, Alexander Severus (222-235), tolerated both Jews and Christians, and in his private chapel for daily worship he had statues, not of the gods, but of deified men, among whom were Abraham, and Christ, with Alexander the Great and Apollonius of Tyana. He had inscribed on his palace and on public monuments the negative form of the golden rule. His mother, Julia Mamæa, was decidedly favourable to Christianity, and invited Origen to the court at Antioch. In the reign of Severus the laws against Christians were codified by the famous jurist Ulpian.

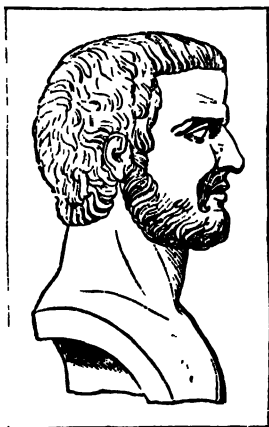
Under the next emperor, the Thracian Maximin (235-238), occurred the sixth general persecution. The next

Persecution by Decius. emperors were of a milder type, and Philip the Arabian (244-249) was so favourable to the Christians that he has been claimed as the first Christian emperor. Decius (249-251) followed with a systematic attempt to destroy the Christian Church, and the bishops and clergy were especially sought out and punished. This (called the seventh) was the first really general persecution. Decius appears to have thought that the luxury and social evils which prevailed were due to the new superstition, and it is said that the lives of some Christians at least gave colour to the idea. Christianity had gained in social repute, and the clergy and members were taking up social arts and practices. Decius is reported to have said that he would rather have a second emperor at his side than a bishop at Rome; and consequently Fabian, the bishop of Rome, and many other bishops throughout the empire, were among the martyrs of this time. Origen was imprisoned and tortured in various ways, and only regained freedom to die in the

second year after Decius. Many of those persecuted yielded and offered sacrifice and incense to the gods; others by money payments gained certificates to the same effect. Many, even bishops and priests, fled, either from cowardice or from prudential motives. The Cyprian on flight. later course was defended by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, in these words: "Our Lord commanded us in times of persecution to yield and fly. He taught this, and practised it Himself. For since the martyr's crown comes by the grace of God, and cannot be gained before the appointed hour, he who retires for a time and remains true to Christ does not deny his faith, but only bides his time." The Christians in prison at Rome wrote to their African brethren in a noble strain of martyrdom: "What more glorious and blessed lot can fall to man by the grace of God than to confess the Lord God amidst tortures and in the face of death itself; to confess Christ the Son of God with lacerated body and with a spirit departing yet free? . . . Though we have not shed our blood, we are ready to do so." Persecutions continued under the reign of Gallus, and in the fifth year of Valerian (257-8) there began an eighth persecution in which Cyprian perished, as well as Sixtus II., bishop of Rome, and his deacon Laurentius, related to have been slowly roasted to death on a gridiron. The martyr spirit at Rome. The martyrdoms under Valerian were followed by the First Edict of Toleration, Gallienus's Edict of Toleration. issued by his son Gallienus, and addressed to the bishops. He recalled Christian exiles, restored to them their cemeteries, and acknowledged their religion as "permitted." The bishops were informed that the officials had been ordered to evacuate the consecrated places, and that they were to reoccupy them; and the edict was to suffice as their authority. Thus the right of the Church to hold property was effectively granted.

His successor, Aurelian, despised the Christians, being a devotee of the Sun, and he had prepared an edict for a persecution of the Christians, wrongly termed the ninth, when he was assassinated. Persecution of Diocletian. The edict was revoked by his successor, Tacitus. Diocle-

tian, a rough Illyrian soldier (Emperor, 284-305), even had a Christian wife, Prisca; and Valeria, his daughter, married to Galerius, his associate Cæsar, is credited with having been able to check hostility to Christianity. Many important state offices at this time were held by Christians, churches were built in every important city, and that at Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, then the seat of Diocletian, was especially fine. The opponents of Christianity were stirred to make a great effort to crush it. It was represented that profane persons (Christians in the Emperor's service) prevented the proper results of divination from being attained;



DIOCLETIAN.

all such persons were ordered by Diocletian to sacrifice in person. At last, after several preliminary steps, on February 23, 303, an edict was issued commanding the demolition of all Christian churches, the burning of all sacred books, the degradation of Christians from all offices and their deprivation of civil rights, and the reduction of non-official Christians to a state of practical slavery. The church of Nicomedia was destroyed. Diocletian's wife and daughter were compelled to join in sacrifice to the gods. Perse-

cution was extended far and wide. Very many Christians were burnt or drowned; many were imprisoned in dungeons. Every person who pleaded in a court of justice was compelled to sacrifice before his plea was heard. Great ingenuity was shown in devising new tortures. Only in Gaul and Britain, then under Constantius Chlorus as Cæsar, was there any toleration for Christians, and even here some martyrdoms took place, as that of St. Alban at Verulam. Elsewhere cruelty raged. All officials of Christian churches were seized and tortured to make them give up their sacred books, and no doubt at this time many invaluable manuscripts perished. In the

language of Eusebius, executions went on till the swords were dull and shattered, and the wearied executioners had to relieve each other. Strangely enough, Diocletian was the last Emperor deified by the Roman Senate, and the last who celebrated a triumph at Rome. In 305, Diocletian, worn out by ill-health, abdicated at Nicomedia, and Maximin did the same at Milan, Galerius and Constantius succeeding them, with Severus as Cæsar in Africa, and Maximin in Syria and Egypt. Galerius, seconded by Maximin, continued the persecution, which was even increased in rigour. All imperial subjects were compelled to sacrifice, and food exposed in the markets was sprinkled with the libations to the gods in order that Christians should find it impossible to avoid pollution with idolatry. At last, when dying of loathsome disease, Galerius in 311 issued a decree of toleration, which acknowledged the failure of previous edicts to suppress Christianity. It was pretended that the edicts had been inspired by a desire to bring back Christians to their own primitive faith. Permission was granted to them to rebuild their churches and resume their meetings, on condition that they did nothing to disturb the State; and finally they were begged to pray to their God for the health and welfare of the emperors. In 312, Constantine, after his victory over Maxentius near Rome, proclaimed toleration for the Christians, and in June, 313, he granted freedom of religion and its exercise throughout the empire. In 327 he professed Christianity, and urged all his subjects to embrace the Christian religion. Thus ended the first great period of the history of Christianity.

Galerius' decree of toleration.

Constantine grants religious freedom.

Before beginning to review the early Apologetic Literature, we may refer to a book which has only in recent years been discovered and published in Constantinople by Bryennius, namely, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," probably dating from the end of the first century A.D., and exhibiting a notable relation to the Epistle of Barnabas. The first six chapters deal with the Two Ways, of Life and Death; the former summed up in the precepts "Love God who

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles."

made thee," and "Love thy neighbour as thyself, and do not to another what thou wouldest not have done to thyself." The Sermon on the Mount is quoted, the Decalogue is enforced, and evils resulting from breach of the spirit of the Commandments are denounced. Directions are given for baptism, to be preceded by fasting; for modes of prayer, and the form of the Eucharist (which consists of very simple thanksgivings, not like those now associated with that office). The blessing of the cup precedes that of the bread. The wine is identified with "the vine of David" made known through Jesus. The first thanksgiving is directed to be said "after being filled," which apparently excludes anything like the modern type of Communion, but which would be applicable rather to the early Love-feasts. Due honour and respect for apostles and prophets are enjoined. In chapter xv. the instruction is given, "Elect therefore to yourselves bishops and deacons," apparently to conduct the weekly services. Those only may attend who have confessed their sins in the church. The last chapter (xvi.) exhorts the Church to watch for the Lord's second coming. It is conjectured that the book was produced by Christian Jews living to the east of the Jordan after the fall of Jerusalem.

Very early in Christian history began that series of "Apologies" or answers to objections to Christianity which has never since ceased. The earliest of which we hear were addressed to the Roman Emperor Hadrian about 125, by Quadratus, Bishop of Athens, and Aristides, an Athenian philosopher. At first it was very necessary to show the distinctions between the Christians and the
Justin Jews. The first great apologist whose Apology
Martyr. has come down to us is Flavius Justinus, commonly known as Justin Martyr, born at Neapolis in Palestine (now Nablous) about the end of the first century. After studying Greek philosophy and becoming a Platonist, he adopted Christianity, partly by study of the sacred books and partly through witnessing the steadfastness of the Christians under persecution. We have already mentioned his martyrdom at Rome. His first

Apology was addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and refutes the false charges brought against **His first** Christianity, declares its principal truths, and **Apology.** describes Christian worship and practices. His courage is very marked. "As for us Christians," he says, "we do not consider that we can suffer any ill from any one, unless we are convicted of wickedness or evil-doing. You can kill us, indeed, but damage us you cannot." Against the charge of setting up a new kingdom, he says, "Surely we are the best friends a ruler could desire,—we who believe in a God whose eye no crime can escape, no falsehood deceive,—we who look for an eternal judgment, not only on our deeds, but even on our thoughts." He alleges as proofs of the truth of Christianity that its chief events had been predicted in the Old Testament, and that it had produced moral conversion in **Second** all kinds of offenders. His second **Apology.** **Apology.** written apparently not long after the first, was instigated by some atrocious condemnations of Christians to death, showing that a future day of retribution would come, and that Christianity was far above the State religion in its moral character, and above the philosophical systems in vogue. Bold protests of innocence were made, and Justin shows that Christians had nothing to withdraw or give up.

In his "Dialogue with Trypho," a Jew, Justin proves the Christian position from the Hebrew Scriptures. Trypho wonders how the Christians could profess to **Dialogue with** serve God, and yet break the Mosaic law which **Trypho.** God had given, and how they could believe in a human Saviour. Justin in reply shows that the binding nature of the Jewish law passed away with the coming of Christ, who, while human, was truly divine, pre-existent, yet subordinate to the Father, then became incarnate, was crucified, rose again and ascended to heaven. He defends himself against the charge of advocating a plurality of gods by bringing numerous passages of the Old Testament to show that they involved the existence and manifestation of such a person as Christ (*e.g.* in the Theophanies). This dialogue has great value as showing the mode of

interpreting Scripture at a very early date, and as covering a great part of the ground of theology. Justin is also remarkable for his allowing that the Divine Being was revealed in part to the Gentiles, and especially to such philosophers as Socrates, who, he says, was martyred for Christ. As regards the Holy Spirit, Justin was less definite, but he holds Him worthy of Divine honour, as being concerned in creation and in inspiration. He holds mainly the Pauline view of original sin and its remission through Christ; believes in the resurrection of the body, and eternal (æonian) punishment of sinners.

It is admitted that Justin interprets Scripture in a way very antagonistic to Judaism, and that many of his ~~Justin's cha-~~ reasonings will not stand the tests of strict ~~racteristica~~ logic or fuller knowledge. The number and minuteness of his references to Christ's life and words give evidence that he knew substantially the same history that we have. The same body of facts is referred to, with but some few additions and alterations, such as that Christ was born in a cave, was not comely of aspect, and made ploughs and yokes, emblems of righteousness; that the Jews ascribed His miracles to magic, that Christ said, "There shall be schisms and heresies," and "In whatsoever I find you, in that will I judge you." He calls the records that he refers to "Memoirs of the Apostles," records of Christ's sayings and doings written by the apostles or their followers. There is strong reason to believe that he knew St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels; but his inexactness of quotation prevents our being certain that he did not use some gospel or original document which has not come down to us. There is much in common between his ideas of the word and the Fourth Gospel, but he has no direct quotation from it. One or two passages, however, seem only compatible with a knowledge of this gospel. He has distinct references to 1 Corinthians and 2 Thessalonians, and makes other allusions only compatible with knowledge of other books of the New Testament. Further, it must be remembered that Justin apparently wrote other books which are lost, and which, probably, contained many of the things we miss.

Melito, bishop of Sardis, in the third quarter of the second century, wrote an *Apology* (addressed to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius), as well as numerous other works mentioned by Eusebius. In one of his works he gave a list of the acknowledged books of the Old Testament. Melito.

Tatian, born in Assyria about 120, was a hearer of Justin Martyr, at Rome, and wrote a *Discourse to the Greeks*, which is practically an "Apology for Christianity," in which he denounced the immorality and absurdities of the Greek stories of the gods, and vindicated the "barbaric" (*i.e.* the Christian) writings. He evidently used the Logos philosophy of the Fourth Gospel, often in almost identical language, and developed the idea of the Spirit beyond Justin. The Spirit of God, he says, takes up His abode with those who live justly, and proclaims truth in the form of prophecies. Tatian was the first who is recorded to have made a harmony of the gospels (the *Diatessaron*), which has been in modern times recovered and reconstructed by Zahn from an Armenian version of a commentary on it by Ephraem the Syrian in the fourth century. It is deduced from this that Tatian accepted and affirmed the historical character of the four gospels, though he does not regard them as infallible in their chronology, but re-arranges it according to probabilities. After the death of Justin Martyr, Tatian was considered to have become unorthodox, and to have adopted gnostic views. His extant works only discover certain tendencies which may have led him from the Christian standards; but he was condemned by Irenæus as "puffed up as if superior to other teachers, and forming his own type of doctrine." Tatian.

Athenagoras, of Athens, was a philosopher who studied Christianity in order to write a refutation of it, but became a teacher of the faith. His "Apology" (which he calls an "embassy" concerning Christians, addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, and Commodus) defends Christians against the current charges of atheism, incest, and cannibalism at their feasts. Its date is probably about 176. Athenagoras. Another

work of his "On the Resurrection of the Dead," argues the question mainly from philosophy, and from the nature of God and of man. He strongly upholds the unity of the Godhead, while teaching that in God there dwelt from eternity the Logos, His Son. He quotes numerous phrases from the New Testament without mentioning their source.

Theophilus of Antioch, Bishop of Antioch in the latter part of the second century, wrote an Apology addressed **Theophilus of Antioch** to an unbelieving friend named Autolycus, which is perhaps most notable as being the first book in which the Trinity in the Divine nature is referred to. The first three days of creation, he says, were types of the triad—God, His Word, and His Wisdom; but the personality of the Holy Spirit still remains indistinct in his account.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, a native of Asia Minor, in his youth a pupil of Polycarp, and thus connected with **Irenæus** St. John, was chosen as the successor of Pothinus at Lyons, in 178, and probably held that see for twenty-five years. He was a zealous preacher, both to the heathen and against heretics, and was notably eager to preserve peace within the Church. Already in his time the Roman Church, through Bishop Victor, was seeking to compel the Churches of Asia Minor to keep Easter on the same day as the Romans did, and Irenæus remonstrated against Victor cutting them off from his communion, and his circular letter probably prevented other Churches from following the Roman example. It is doubtful whether Irenæus was martyred. The great work of Irenæus is usually known by the brief title "Against Heresies," but its complete designation is "Detection and Upsetting of falsely-called Knowledge" (Gnosis), written in Greek against the gnostic heresies. We have the greater portion of a Latin version, and fragments of the original Greek.

Here we may refer to the works known as the pseudo-Clementines, written probably in the second half of the second century, in the name of Clement of Rome. **The Pseudo-Clementine writings.** The *Homilies*, described as "a philosophico-religious romance, based on some historical tradi-

tions," profess to give an account of the discourses of St. Peter on his apostolic journeys, as given to Clement. The author puts into the mouth of Peter a mixture of Ebionite and Gnostic teaching, seeing in Christianity merely a restoration of the pure primitive revelation. Much of its teaching is interpreted as a veiled attack on St. Paul. The *Recognitions* purports to be an autobiography addressed by Clement to James, bishop of Jerusalem. The books resemble one another in many points, and are regarded as diverse forms of one original. To Clement were also ascribed the *Apostolical Constitutions* and *Canons*, the former consisting of eight books of Church laws, customs, liturgies, and moral exhortations, an early work, and the latter, probably collected in the fourth or fifth century, containing a system of discipline for the clergy. All the four gospels, principally St. Matthew, are quoted in the Clementines, with considerable verbal differences from our present text; and a few passages not found in our gospels are quoted.

Clement of Alexandria was the earliest great teacher at Alexandria devoted to the instruction of catechumens or those preparing for Christian baptism, from **Clement of Alexandria** about A.D. 190 to 203. He was followed by the still more notable Origen. Of the three chief works of Clement, the *Exhortation to the Greeks* shows the folly and immoral character of the Greek religion; the second, the *Tutor*, inculcates Christian morality, and the third, "*Stromata*," or Patchwork, gives the deeper Christian teaching in an unsystematic fashion. Clement represents that in his teaching he is reproducing original unwritten tradition, derived from the apostles, and constituting a true guide to knowledge or gnosis, in opposition to the false gnosis then abundant. He quotes with emphasis the Epistle of Barnabas, and also "the Preaching of Peter," and the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," as well as the books of the canon; but he quotes loosely and inaccurately. He describes the philosophic believer as comprehending the complete truth of God, and becoming as far as possible like God. Man is born for God's service, for which he is fitted by painful training, and by receiving

the Holy Spirit. He recognised and valued highly the good side of heathenism and of Greek philosophy. "The training of the Jews and the training of the Greeks were in different ways designed to fit men for the final manifestation of the Christ. . . . The various schools of philosophy are described as rending in pieces the one truth, like the Bacchants, who rent the body of Pentheus, and bore about the fragments in triumph. Each one, he says, boasts that the morsel which it has had the good fortune to gain is all the truth. . . . He that again combines the divided parts and unites the exposition in a perfect whole, will, we may be assured, look upon the truth without peril" (Westcott, in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*).

A pupil of Clement, Origen (in full, Origenes Adamantius) was destined greatly to excel his master in fame.

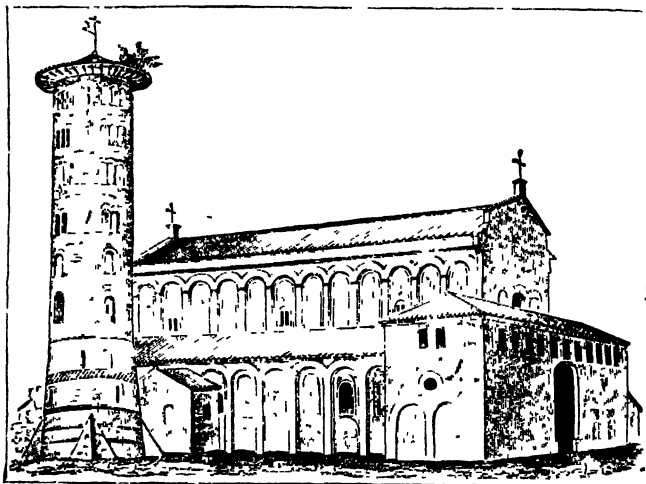
Origen. Born at Alexandria in 185 of Christian parents, and baptised in infancy, he early studied both the Bible and Greek literature. During the persecution of A.D. 202, his father Leonidas was martyred, and Origen would have suffered the same fate but that his mother hid his clothes. He afterwards supported himself and his mother and family by teaching Greek and copying manuscripts. In 203, at the age of eighteen, he was made head of the catechetical school vacated by Clement. To further qualify himself for this office he studied under Ammonius Saccas, the founder of Neo-Platonism, a teacher who no doubt greatly broadened his views. He lived a most ascetic life, and to guard himself against temptation, through having numerous female catechumens, he emasculated himself; and by his teaching and life made many converts. About 211 he visited Rome, where ideas of a visibly united Church, made up of baptised persons, were already strong, while the Alexandrians regarded the Church as composed of all holy people both in heaven and on earth. Returning to Alexandria, Origen made a fresh study of Hebrew, and started a great commentary on the Bible, for which Ambrose, a rich convert, provided a library, shorthand writers and copyists. In his numerous foreign journeys to instruct princes and notable people who sent for him, the bishops of Jerusalem (Alexander) and Cæsarea

invited him to preach in their churches, though he was still a layman. Later, he was ordained a presbyter by the same bishops (A.D. 228), which excited the anger of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, who in 231 and 232 held two councils at Alexandria, at which Origen was accused of having mutilated himself, of having been ordained without the consent of the bishop under whom he worked, and of teaching erroneous doctrines, such as that the devil would be finally saved, etc. He was forbidden to teach, and excommunicated, a sentence which was confirmed by the Roman and Western Churches, but rejected in Palestine, Phœnicia, and Greece. Origen withdrew to Cæsarea, where he continued to teach. Afterwards he again travelled widely, partly owing to persecution by Roman emperors and by Christians. Meanwhile he continued to work at his commentary and other writings. During the persecution of Decius, Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem was martyred, and Origen was condemned to death and cruelly tortured. But the death of Decius freed Origen, who however was shattered in strength, and died a few years later at Tyre, about 255.

The Church of Rome refused to Origen the titles of Saint and Father, in common with Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian; but he was certainly one of the greatest scholars and most powerful intellects of his time. He was very fond of allegorical and mystical interpretation, and also of literal following of ascetic teaching. He was the first to attempt a complete study of and comment on the Bible, and to endeavour to settle its text by a Polyglott Old Testament (called Hexapla), including six versions side by side; namely, the Hebrew, the same in Greek letters, the Septuagint, Aquila's Greek version, the text of Symmachus (possibly an Ebionite), and that of Theodotion, an Ephesian. This great work, kept in the library at Cæsarea, was still in use in Jerome's time. Only a few portions have survived. Of his other numerous writings we have little beside the "Answer to Celsus," an important work, and the "De Principiis," a work on the first principles of Christian doctrine; but these suffice to show Origen to have been

His works.

the greatest Christian writer who had appeared since the apostolic times. His work on "*First Principles*" was the first attempt to fashion a philosophy of the Christian faith. The object or end of life, he says, is the progressive assimilation of man to God by the voluntary appropriation of His gifts. Rational beings are endowed with freewill, and with responsibility for their actions; they can never cease to be. They have the



ST. APOLLINARIS IN CLASSE, RAVENNA (538-549).

power of learning from the revelation of God's will in the Scriptures, upon which a rational faith is to be founded. Bishop Butler, in the introduction to his "*Analogy*," quotes a famous sentence from this book as having supplied an important hint for his own work. "He who believes the Scripture to have proceeded from Him who is the Author of Nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the constitution of Nature."

Origen's "*Answer to Celsus*" is a powerful reply to the "*True Discourse*" of Celsus, an Epicurean philosopher,

who in it attacked the whole idea of the supernatural, the incarnation and resurrection of Christ, and "Answer to the intellectual and moral character of the *Celsus*." Christians. Origen's answer is close, and in many parts conclusive; but his lack of the true historic sense mars much of his work. He maintained the true and perfect manhood of Christ, subject to the conditions of natural growth, and the true and perfect divinity of the "God Word," which was so united with the Man Christ Jesus, through the human soul, as to be one person. He regarded the Son as less than the Father, and as reaching only to rational beings; while the Holy Spirit was still less, and extended only to the saints. The work of Christ was for all men, and for the whole of man. His life and death was a vicarious sacrifice for sin, and was even of value to heavenly beings. The future consummation of the world would include the restoration of all beings to unity in God. Future punishment, proportionate to sin, awaited all sinners. "His gravest errors," says Westcott, "are attempts to solve that which is insoluble." He has been so far misunderstood as to be charged with being the forerunner of Arianism, and with holding many other heresies. For his own age he is a remarkable example of boldness and freedom of thought arising in the new Church. Among the followers of Origen who can merely be mentioned are Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 248-265; Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, 244-270; Pamphilus of Cæsarea, the friend Eusebius; and Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, martyred in 311; while Methodius, bishop of Patara, in Lycia, attacked his views of the creation and resurrection of the body in three dialogues.

Going back to the contemporaries of Origen, we must briefly mention Hippolytus, bishop of the port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber, whose statue was dug up in 1551 in Rome, inscribed with the names of his works, including one "against all heresies," of which the greater part only became known by a discovery in the monastery of Mount Athos, in 1842. It is entitled "*Philosophoumena*," and describes heathen philo-

sophies, and all the heresies since the apostles' times, and incidentally gives considerable information about the author's life and beliefs, and the history of the Roman Church. He strongly censured the laxity of the contemporary Roman bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus. He was probably martyred near Rome, near the close of the first half of the third century.

The earliest great Latin Christian writers flourished in the Roman province of Africa, chiefly in the old territory of Carthage. **Tertullian**, born between 150 and 160, was trained as a lawyer, and only became a Christian about A.D. 192, after which he was a presbyter of the Church. He joined the Montanists about the end of the century. His death took place somewhere between 220 and 240. While still remaining an orthodox Christian, Tertullian wrote several important works, such as his Address to the Martyrs, and his Apology, his greatest writing. After he became a Montanist, he wrote many books defending the special doctrines of the sect, though without giving up any of what he considered to be the true teaching of Christianity. The character of his writings is described as "abrupt and impetuous, eloquent and stern," though often with tender and beautiful passages. He vehemently denounced flight in persecution, second marriages, ostentatious and elaborate dressing by Christian women, and enjoined severe fasts and other ascetic practices.

Cyprian, the second great African father, was born at Carthage, about A.D. 200, of a wealthy family, was highly educated, and became a famous teacher of **Cyprian** rhetoric. He was baptised a Christian in 245 or 246, and studied the Scriptures and Christian writers so successfully that in 248 he was called by popular acclamation to take the bishopric of Carthage, though still only a layman. When the Decian persecution broke out, he fled as a matter of expediency. On his return, he had to deal with many cases of those who had fallen away under persecution and now sought restoration to the Church. Many had even obtained indulgences in the name of martyrs, who while in prison under sentence of

death were allowed to recommend the restoration of persons under condemnation by the Church. Consequently, many lax and disorderly persons obtained admission into the Church, and occasioned difficulty and scandal. Cyprian in 251 called a council of African bishops, which voted in favour of restoring only those of the lapsed who were truly penitent. After this, Novatus, a presbyter, with a rich layman named Felicissimus, raised an outcry against Cyprian's election as irregular and illegal, and the latter set forward Fortunatus as bishop of Carthage, and obtained his ordination by five bishops, all of whom were either condemned heretics or had lapsed under persecution; but this schism soon vanished.

Another great controversy in which Cyprian took an active part, was about the acceptance of Christian baptism as valid when performed by heretical teachers. **Heretical baptism.** He held that no such baptism was valid, and that its efficacy depended not only upon the minister being a priest of the orthodox church, but on his personal holiness. In this matter Stephen, Bishop of Rome (253–257), took the broader view that the validity depended on following the institution of Christ, not on the state or belief of the minister. Those baptised by heretics only needed confirmation. Stephen appears to have shown more than a dawning of the high pretensions of the see of Rome, having even refused to receive those who brought the decisions of the African council to Rome, denouncing Cyprian as “a false Christ, a false apostle, and a deceitful worker.” This harshness was followed by the rejection of all communion with the African and the Eastern Churches; and gradually the broader view prevailed, and was accepted by the Church generally at the Council of Nicæa. Cyprian's martyrdom under the persecution of Valerian has already been mentioned. He left behind him eighty-one epistles, giving most valuable accounts of ecclesiastical questions in his age. He also wrote a work “On the Unity of the Church,” which is the first full assertion of the principle of a great united visible Church. He says that “the Church was founded

from the first by Christ on Peter alone. . . . She has "The Unity of ever since remained one, in unbroken episcopal the Church." succession. . . . He is not a Christian who is not in the Church of Christ. Whoever separates himself from the Church is a foreigner, a profane person, an enemy. '*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*'" (outside the Church there is no salvation). Through Cyprian's influence the Church Council first became of prime importance to the life of the Church, and episcopacy acquired a greatly increased power. He also strongly asserted the independence of bishops when once elected.

During the first three centuries the successive setting-up of different forms of opinion, which their advocates thought compatible with Christianity, led to the discussion and settlement by the Church of numerous questions of the highest moment. Ebionism was the first important development, a movement full of zeal for the law of Moses, and tending to exalt the old at the expense of the new Covenant. The Ebionites,¹ who first came into prominence about the beginning of the second century, regarded Jesus as the son of Joseph and Mary without any supernatural conception, and as a mere man. Only after His baptism did He become anointed as Christ and endued with His mission as Messiah. They neither believed in His pre-existence nor in His divinity; they looked for His future coming, when the earthly Jerusalem would be restored, and the Jews would return there to take their place in the Messiah's millennial kingdom. They insisted that the Jewish law should be observed by all Christians, and they strongly opposed the teaching and the claims of St. Paul. There was a further type of Ebionism which was specially ascetic in its tone, and identified Christianity with what was called genuine or primitive Mosaism. The Ebionites only accepted the Pentateuch, and even rejected parts of that. They did not define the precise moment of union of Jesus with the Messiah, who, they held, was ordained to combat and conquer the devil. As the latter was their special enemy,

¹ *Ebion*, poor; hence Ebionite, a follower of Christ's teaching about poverty.

they refused every kind of worldly indulgence, except that they recommended early marriages. They observed both the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Lord's day, but they had no regard for the Jewish sacrifices and temple; yet they refused all communion with the uncircumcised. Many of them sought to propagate their views. They exerted much influence in the second and third centuries in Syria, but did not succeed in establishing themselves elsewhere. The teaching of Paul prevailed, and the bishops of Palestine, as well as those of Rome, showed their disregard for Jewish customs in the settlement of the Paschal controversy in the second century. The Ebionites gradually died out without having exerted any wide influence. No formal pronouncement of a council against them was necessary. Their doctrines died a natural death, though a few Ebionites were still heard of up to the middle of the fifth century.

Gnosticism, though it fills a vast space in the religious history of the first centuries of Christianity, is in many features not directly its product. It appears to have been related largely to Greek and ^{Gnosticism.} many other non-Christian philosophies, and it attempted to add to the Christian faith a knowledge which was superior to faith. It also claimed to be the depository of a secret tradition of early Christianity. The term Gnostic is used to cover many diverse sects, the more important of which did not arise till the second century. The principal general features of gnosticism as a philosophy are the idea of the essential antagonism of spirit and matter, the conception of a Demiurgus or effective creator of the world, distinct from the supreme God, and the idea that Christ's human body was but a phantasmal appearance. The Divine being was supposed to become manifested in the form of æons, a term applied to all spiritual powers. The Demiurgus, or maker of the visible world, was supposed to be produced by the union of the lowest æon with matter. The liberation of human nature from evil was effected by the work of Christ, the most perfect of the æons. Two principal views of morals were held by various gnostic sects: one, that all matter, including

human nature, was corrupt, and every material pleasure was consequently to be avoided; the other, that the pure spirit could not be defiled by any material thing or act. We can but briefly refer to a few of the leaders of gnostic sects.

Basilides, who flourished at Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian (117-138), is best known to us by the extracts given from his writings in the work of Hippolytus against all heresies. His high philosophical teaching is too complex to be detailed here. The sect he founded lasted in Egypt till about the end of the fourth century. Its members professed to possess a hidden knowledge, reckoned themselves more than Christians, claimed and exercised great freedom about contact with heathendom, indulged in magic and invocations, and were reputed to practise much immorality. Their ideas were very different from those of their founder.

Valentinus, a much greater man, was probably also an Alexandrian. He is known to have taught at Rome about 138-160, and to have died in Cyprus in 160. His system became the most general form of gnosticism, and was widely spread through Egypt, Syria, Italy, and Southern Gaul. Early in the third century the Valentinians were the most numerous of heretics; in the fifth they were quite extinct.

Marcion (first half of the second century), son of a bishop of Sinope in Pontus, but excommunicated by his father, went to Rome, and sought restoration from the presbyters there. Failing to obtain his object, he formed a sect of his own, by whom he was recognised as bishop, and became the founder of a line of Marcionite bishops. His sect was very widely diffused by the end of the second century, and their strict asceticism, which included celibacy and abstinence from meat and wine, and their ardent spirit of martyrdom, made them strong and gave them much success. They still existed in the seventh century, but they had been largely eclipsed by the newer Manichaean heresy. Marcion recognised three ruling powers: the good God, first made known by Christ; evil Matter, ruled by the devil; and

the righteous Demiurge, or world-maker, the angry god of the Jews. He rejected the authority of the Old Testament entirely, and regarded Christ as having suddenly descended from heaven to reveal God, His body being a mere appearance and His death an illusion. By His work He cast the Demiurge into Hades, secured the redemption of humanity, and commissioned St. Paul to preach it. The Marcionites observed the usual church rites, though their Eucharist excluded wine. They fasted on Saturdays. Marcion's canon is referred to at page 185.

Tatian, of whom we have already spoken (pp. 182-3), the convert of Justin Martyr, during Justin's lifetime showed in his writings tendencies to gnosticism, and Tatian. later became pronouncedly an ascetic gnostic, The founding a sect known as the Encratites (the Encratites. abstemious), which lasted until the fourth century.

Our space is quite inadequate to deal with Manichæism, which may be briefly defined as an attempt to combine Christianity with Zoroastrianism. Ormuzd and Manichæism. Ahriman appeared as Light and Darkness, each presiding over a distinct kingdom and engaged in perpetual contest. Manes, or Mani, a Persian magian converted to Christianity, was its founder, about 270, and Manes, was cruelly martyred in 277. His teaching or Mani. spread widely through Asia, and reached Africa and Rome. Although repressed by the Christian emperors, Manichæism survived as a distinct sect till the sixth century.

Manichæism resembled the gnostic sects in describing Christ's body as only an appearance, and consequently rejecting the accounts of His birth and early life. As primal man He dwelt in the sun by His power and the moon by His wisdom. Hence these two were worshipped as being His habitations. The Old Testament was rejected, and the Gospels were only partially accepted, as having arisen much later than the time of Christ and the apostles, and as having been greatly corrupted. Mani himself claimed to be the Paraclete, and propounded his teaching as a revelation. In morals the

higher order of Manichæans, "the perfect," professed asceticism, idleness, and celibacy; the hearers might live an ordinary life, though they might not destroy animals.

The Manichæans had an elaborate organisation—a chief priest, successor of Mani, twelve apostles, seventy-two bishops, and priests, deacons and evangelists. Their very simple worship included turning to the sun in prayer; anointing with oil instead of baptism of the "perfect," to whom the Eucharist was administered; and fasting on Sunday.

These were rather teachings conflicting with Christianity than heresies within its pale. We now come to heresies which claimed to express the true view regarding most important aspects of truth about the Divine Being in His various manifestations. The discussions upon these developed the Catholic doctrine about the Trinity of the Godhead, and about the union of the Divine and

The human natures in Christ. The Monarchians, **Monarchians**, who rose into prominence towards the end of the second century, denied the divinity of Christ, or else described it as a power which filled the human Jesus. Yet they mostly believed in His miraculous birth by the power of the Holy Spirit, and in the residence of Divine power in His nature from His conception. Theodotus of Byzantium was an early leader, and was excommunicated at Rome by Bishop Victor (about A.D. 200).

A distinct form of Monarchism originated with Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch from A.D. 260. He described both the Logos and the Holy Spirit as **Paul of Samosata** powers or manifestations of God, not distinct Persons. The Divine Logos, he taught, dwelt more fully in Christ than in any previous teacher. He was deposed in 269 by a council of Syrian bishops, but was protected by Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, and only finally deposed after his sentence had been confirmed by the Italian bishops.

A form of Monarchism which explained the three Persons of the Trinity as only the threefold aspect of the Divine Being, was termed *Patripassian* by Tertullian, because it was inferred that this view logically involved

the belief that it was God the Father Himself who suffered upon the cross. Praxeas brought this doctrine to Rome from Asia Minor near the end of the second century, and was at the same time a strong anti-Montanist. He urged that the doctrine of the Trinity was a belief in three Gods; and his mode of explaining his own teaching was that the one God, who as Father was Spirit, as Son was flesh; and that the Father sympathised and suffered with the Son. He was condemned by the Roman Church, and went to Carthage, where Tertullian wrote a book against him. Noëtus of Smyrna had his own special form of this heresy, to which Zephyrinus, Callistus (Calixtus I.), and Sabellius were won. Callistus thus expressed his view: "The Father, who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God. Father and Son were therefore the name of the one God, and this one person cannot be two; thus the Father suffered with the Son."

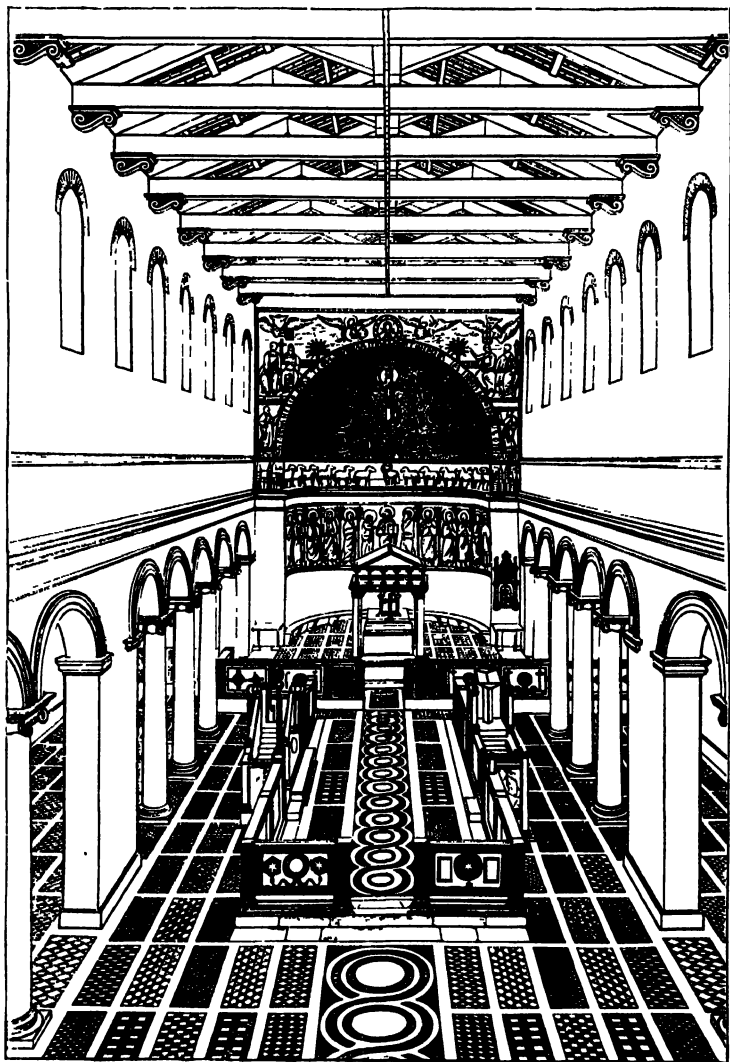
Sabellius, however, went farther than Callistus, by whom he was excommunicated A.D. 218, and was the most original and profound of the Monarchians. He taught that the unity of God unfolded itself in three different forms at successive periods, and after the completion of redemption returned into unity. The Father is revealed in the law, the Son in the incarnation, the Holy Spirit in inspiration. The Logos he imagined as the One God in transition to the Trinity, the three Persons being only successive aspects of the Logos, or world-ward side of the Divine. His views led to the enunciation of the Nicene Creed. After his excommunication at Rome, he appears to have preached in Egypt, where he was condemned in 261, at a council called by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria; and it is significant that the terms of his condemnation declared the subordination of the Son to the Father in a form almost identical with the subsequent Arian heresy.

The Montanists, an ascetic sect, arose in Phrygia about the middle of the second century, under the preaching of Montanus, a priest of Cybele. He believed, or gave out, that he was himself the medium of the Paraclete or

Comforter promised by Christ ; and during the persecution ^{The} by Marcus Aurelius he proclaimed the im-
Montanists. mediate coming of the Holy Spirit, and the commencement of the millennial kingdom of Christ, and he and his followers prepared for it by a life of severe discipline and a spirit of enthusiastic martyrdom. Most of the Asiatic Churches regarded this announcement as made by demoniacal influence, and excommunicated the Montanists. In the West it met with more favour, being supported by Tertullian, and many Africans and Roman Christians, by Irenæus and the Churches of Gaul. Praxeas and Caius, however, obtained its condemnation at Rome ; but the powerful advocacy of Tertullian greatly raised its importance, and led to renewed and enlarged belief in the work of the Comforter. On other than these special views, the Montanists were orthodox in doctrine, acknowledging the entire authority of both Old and New Testaments, and agreeing with the Church in their views of the Trinity.

By a natural transition we come to the Millenarians or Chiliasts, who believed in the speedy second coming of ^{The} Christ to reign in person a thousand years
Millenarians. before the general resurrection and last judgment. The Montanists were among the most fanatical believers in this, but it gradually died after the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, to be revived again in more recent times.

The Christian Churches (assemblies of Christians) only gradually acquired fixed local habitations, and the word ^{Churches.} "ecclesia" was applied to meetings of be-
 lievers from its current use for other meetings. 1 Cor. v. 18, which speaks of the Christians "coming together in the church," shows how the meeting place became identified with the meeting. Still for a long time the Church met anywhere it could, and private houses were generally used, though it was often necessary to assemble in desert places, and at catacombs and other burial places. We do not find mention of special buildings for Christian worship until about the end of the second century, when, in addition to the name



INTERIOR OF S. CLEMENT'S, ROME (TWELFTH CENTURY).

(Built above a sixth-century basilica. The choir, probably dating from the sixth century, is here an enclosure within the nave.)

ecclesia, they were called "the Lord's houses," and "houses of God." The name "Lord's house" referred specially to the Lord Jesus Christ. In French *ecclesia* appears as *église*, in Welsh as *eglwys*; but the Anglo-Saxon *cyrice*, *cyrc*, English church, Scotch kirk, German *Kirche*, supplanted it. Whether this word is derived from the Greek word for "Lord's house," or from a primitive Aryan word meaning enclosure, is doubtful.

During the second half of the third century many churches were built, often of considerable architectural pretensions, and provided with gold and silver vessels. The church at Nicomedia, destroyed by Diocletian, was one of the grandest.

In its application to persons, the "Church" signified the whole body of Christians, those dwelling in any town or neighbourhood constituting the Church in that place. Of course admission to the Church had to be guarded, and exclusion had to be practised as necessity arose. Baptism constituted the rite of admission, accompanied by a profession of faith. To ensure the soundness of the latter, previous instruction was needed, and in the second century classes of "catechumens" were formed, in which two or three years might be spent before baptism. The latter rite was often administered on the eve of Easter and Whit Sunday. A confession of faith had to be made at baptism, including the chief heads of the Christian faith, and the devil was formally renounced. The sign of the cross was made upon the forehead, the kiss of peace was given by the minister, and usually baptism was by immersion. The rite was not restricted to adult converts, but was also administered to the children of Christian parents, this practice being derived from the apostles. Tertullian was a prominent opponent of infant baptism, believing that it brought children too soon into a condition of responsibility, and that deadly sins committed after baptism could not be forgiven. But the tendency to very early baptism (on the second or third day) was strongly marked in the middle of the third century. Sponsors not only took the vows on behalf of

The Church.

Catechumens.

Baptism.

infants, but appeared as sureties for adults. Of course in the case of children the catechumen stage had to follow baptism.

Confirmation, in the case of adults, originally followed baptism at once, the presbyters laying their hands on them and anointing them with holy oil. In ^{Confirmation.} the second century this rite was usually performed by bishops, but infants as well as adults were confirmed, and afterwards the Lord's Supper was administered, even to infants in some churches.

Simplicity characterised the Christian meetings during the first two centuries. The meeting places had an elevated seat for the minister to read and ^{Worship.} preach, a plain table for the communion, and a basin of water for baptism; but during the second century the table came to be called the "altar," and it was enclosed within railings, together with the reading desk and the seats for the clergy. Justin Martyr in his *Apology* gives the following most interesting account of Christian worship in his time. "On Sunday a meeting is held of all who live in the cities and villages, and a section is read from the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and the writings of the *Prophets*, so long as the time permits. When the reader has finished, the president¹ in a discourse (homily) gives the admonition and exhortation to imitate these noble things. After this, we all rise and offer prayer. At the close of the prayer, bread and wine and water are brought. The president offers prayers and thanks for them as he is able, and the congregation answer *Amen*. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to each one and partaken of, and are carried by the deacons to the houses of those absent. The wealthy and the willing then give contributions, according to their free will, and this collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies orphans and widows, the poor and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes care of all who are in want." Other accounts give fuller descriptions of the singing of *Psalms*, of the songs in the New Testament, and of specially composed hymns,

¹ The presiding presbyter, or bishop.

both of praise and doctrine. Antiphonal or responsive singing was early introduced. Of these hymns there remain the fine hymn by Clement of Alexandria, and the morning and evening hymns of the Apostolical Constitutions.

In the latter part of the second century the Lord's Supper was separated from the ordinary Sunday service, **The Lord's** and only full members were allowed to remain.

Supper. Both bread and wine were given to all communicants, water being mixed with the latter. The Love-feasts of the early Churches originated out of the common social meal, but soon became more or less perverted to occasions of ostentation on the part of the richer members. They at first combined a meal with a special religious service. Collections were made for the poor or for necessitous Churches; the "kiss of love" preceded the breaking up of the meetings. As special buildings came into use for worship, it was felt that they should not be used for such common meals; and this practice was forbidden by councils in the fourth century. The

Love-feasts. Love-feasts continued to be held in the evening, after the Eucharist had been transferred to the morning; and they often became little more than a meal given to the poor.

The great controversies which have surrounded the Eucharist or Holy Communion date in essence from **Eucharistic** near the apostolic age. Thus Ignatius, in

doctrine. answer to those who denied that the Eucharist was the body of Christ, affirmed that it was "the flesh of the crucified and risen Lord, a medicine of immortality, an antidote to death, giving eternal life in Jesus Christ." Both Justin Martyr and Irenæus speak of the descent of Christ into the consecrated elements as being like His incarnation. Tertullian says that the words of Christ, "This is My body," mean "This is the figure or symbol of My body"; but he also says that the body and blood of Christ are really received into the body of the communicant. Clement of Alexandria describes the wine as a symbol or allegory of the blood of Christ, explaining that the recipient receives the spiritual, not the physical,

blood of Christ. But the early fathers in general were strongly influenced by Jewish ideas, and regarded the Eucharist as in some sense a sacrifice, which superseded the former sacrifices. In the second century the fathers mainly regarded it as a thank-offering; but the African fathers, and especially Cyprian, in the third century, inclined to look upon it as a sin-offering.

Discipline was, on the whole, strict in the early Church. Excommunication was the great weapon against offences; but it might almost always be taken off, after a shorter or longer period of probation, instruction, fasting and prayer. Tertullian expresses the view that this penance was a satisfaction rendered to God. Sometimes penance was continued throughout life, and full restoration was by some of the stricter bishops denied to some offenders even in the hour of death. But ultimately it was agreed that the Church should grant absolution and restoration to any penitent upon his deathbed. Discipline.

Fasting early became an aid to prayer and a means of self-discipline. Partial fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the great fast before Easter, in memory of the forty days' fasting of Jesus, were observed in the second century. At first this was of very varying length; and it was only later that a forty days' fast was settled, through the influence of the Roman Church. The Montanists often fasted fourteen days at a time, eating only bread and salt and drinking water. Fasting.

Tertullian is the first writer who records the giving up of ordinary business on the Lord's Day: but fasting was forbidden on that day of joy; also prayer was made standing, not kneeling, as on other days. Many Christians kept both the Jewish and the Christian Sabbath. Easter was of course the most important festival, combining the influence of the Jewish Passover and the Christian resurrection. This double significance led to a long dispute as to the proper time of keeping Easter. One party held to the Passover date, the 14th of Nisan, irrespective of the day of the week; these were termed the Quartodecimans. The Easter.
Quarto-decimans.

other party, and especially the Roman Church, insisted on the fact that Christ was crucified on a Friday, the day preceding the Jewish Sabbath, and rose again on the Sunday, on which therefore the anniversary ought always to be kept. About A.D. 160 it was agreed between Polycarp and Anicetus, bishop of Rome, to permit differences of practice on this point. About 170 the Laodiceans, opposed by other Asiatic Churches, observed the Jewish Passover by eating the Paschal lamb; and the controversy became so acute that in 196 the Roman bishop Victor tried to get the whole question of Easter settled, and councils of bishops in various countries adopted the Roman practice; but the Asiatic Churches maintained their usage till the Council of Nicæa.

The period between Easter and Pentecost (Whitsuntide) was observed as a continued festival, during which prayer was always made standing, the communion was received daily, and fasting was given up. Ascension Day was apparently first observed in a special manner in the third century. Christmas and saints' days were not kept till later.

Coming now to the official members of the Church, the growth of a hierarchy or governing priestly class followed a natural and rapid course of evolution in these early centuries. At first the exercise of the ministry (outside the ranks of the apostles) was a direct consequence of gifts, believed to be imparted by the Holy Spirit. Those marked out as specially qualified for giving instruction, leading worship, and administering the affairs of the Church were inducted to their ministry by the laying on of hands by the apostles and the elders already appointed, in a Church meeting. Various expressions describing these ministers, such as prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, bishops or overseers, presbyters or elders, deacons, etc., are found in the New Testament, but not as yet quite defined in their functions or rank. The terms bishop and presbyter (elder) are mostly used interchangeably; but the latter term alone is used in the Acts of the Apostles; and where we read of bishops of a Church it is always in

the plural. The emergence of the office of bishop as the chief officer of a large Church or group of churches was, however, very speedy, although the two terms, bishop and presbyter, are used as synonymous by Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and even by Irenæus. Out of various possible modes of organisation, one gradually emerged which appeared best suited to the conditions of the Church. But the idea of the priesthood of all Christian believers remained active for a considerable time; and Tertullian says that where there were no ministers, any Christian administered the sacraments, as a priest to himself alone.

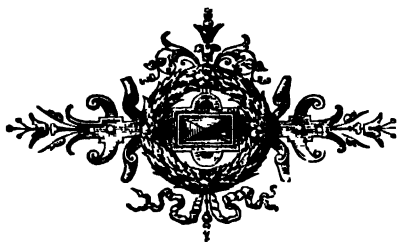
But Ignatius, in his epistles, already recognises the full dignity of the office of a bishop, and the three orders of bishop, priest and deacon; and by the beginning of the third century the ministry, the priestly order, the clergy, are ranked as a distinct order, to which admission could only be had by ordination. Minor orders, such as those of sub-deacon, acolyte, exorcists, reader, were also in existence. In proportion as the clergy were distinguished from the people, they were maintained at their expense, by means of weekly collections and other gifts. With all their ideas of commission by Divine calling, yet the people chose their own ministers, though they might accept the nomination of the bishop or priests; and it is remarkable how the consent of the entire congregation was held necessary to an appointment during the first three centuries, and the election of Cyprian to the bishopric of Carthage by popular acclaim is a strong case in point. By the end of the third century the power of the bishops was largely increasing; the episcopal office in its entirety was regarded as the continuation of the apostolical office, and the bishop was the "vicar of Christ" to the churches he ruled. "Blessed are they who are one with the bishop, as the Church is with Christ and Christ with the Father," says Ignatius. An unbroken episcopal succession was most highly valued. Cyprian describes bishops as the channel or medium through which the Holy Ghost is bestowed on the Church in unbroken succession. "The bishop," he

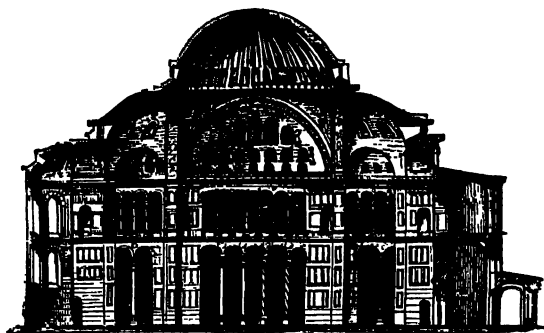
says, "is in the Church, and the Church is in the bishop, and if any one is not with the bishop, he is not in the Church." But he regards the entire order of bishops as exercising an undivided episcopate, and each bishop as representing in his diocese the authority of the whole order. So the way was prepared for the idea of the visible unity of the Catholic Church.

The word which we render "parish" at first signified the sphere of a bishop's action; the term diocese arose in **Parish and Diocese.** Constantine's time. Bishops of central meeting-places were termed metropolitans, and those of the most important churches, such as those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, were early known as archbishops or patriarchs. Gradually the superior influence of the **Metropolitan,** Church and Bishop of Rome grew in accord with its central position and its being the seat **Archbishop, Patriarch.** of the empire, and of the supposed bishopric of St. Peter, and also its supposed foundation by St. Paul. Irenæus, at the end of the second century, gives the **The Bishopric of Rome.** Church of Rome precedence as being the chief centre of apostolical tradition derived from Peter and Paul. Cyprian calls the Church of Rome "The chair of St. Peter and the chief church, the source of the unity of the priesthood, the root and mother of the Catholic Church," yet he writes to the Bishop of Rome as his brother and colleague, not as Father (Papa, or Pope). This latter was not used as the special title of the bishops of Rome till the fifth century.

The unity of the Holy Catholic Church was held by the great fathers of the second and third centuries as an **Unity of the Church.** indisputable and natural fact, springing from unity with Christ. During the conflicts with heresy, the need for the exclusion of the heretics became prominent. Tertullian's sentence, "Outside the Church there is no salvation," has already been quoted. Irenæus wrote: "The Church is the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost on earth; where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace." As yet this unity had not been evidenced in any universal council; but it was be-

lieved that the Councils or synods which were assembled from time to time in important centres were specially guided by Divine grace in their decisions. In some of these presbyters and even the laity took part. Thus in the first ages the main outlines of the whole scheme of the Church were elaborated as necessity arose; and it is astonishing to find how much the ground of recent controversies on Church organisation was anticipated by the wisdom of the first three centuries.





INTERIOR SECTION OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

CHAPTER V.

Christianity as a State Church: Fourth Century.

The Emperor Constantine—The Edict of Milan—Constantinople—The Donatists—Arius and Arianism—The Council of Nicæa—Athanasius—Later victories of Arianism—Death of Arius—Exile of Athanasius—Julian the Apostate—Athanasius in power—His writings and character—The Athanasian Creed—Arianism in the West—Council of Constantinople—Ambrose—Hermits—St. Anthony—St. Symeon Stylites—Pachomius, Founder of Monasteries—St. Martin of Tours—Eusebius—Basil—Gregory of Nyssa—Gregory Nazianzen—St. John Chrysostom—Epiphanius, Cyril, Ephraem—Lactantius—Jerome—Christianity beyond the Empire—The Goths—Ulfilas—Christianity as a State Church—Influence of the Emperors—Power of Bishops—Power of Clergy—Deacons—Exarchs and Primate—The See of Rome—Rise of the Papal Power.

THE Emperor Constantine had strong leanings to the old gods and the old Roman religion, and it was not till 324 that he formally professed Christianity, and **The Emperor** recommended his subjects to adopt it. Yet he **Constantine.** dedicated his new City of Constantinople (324) jointly to the God of the Martyrs and the Goddess Fortune, while his coins, stamped on the one side with the monogram of Jesus, on the other bore an image of the Sun God. He kept the Roman title of Pontifex Maximus

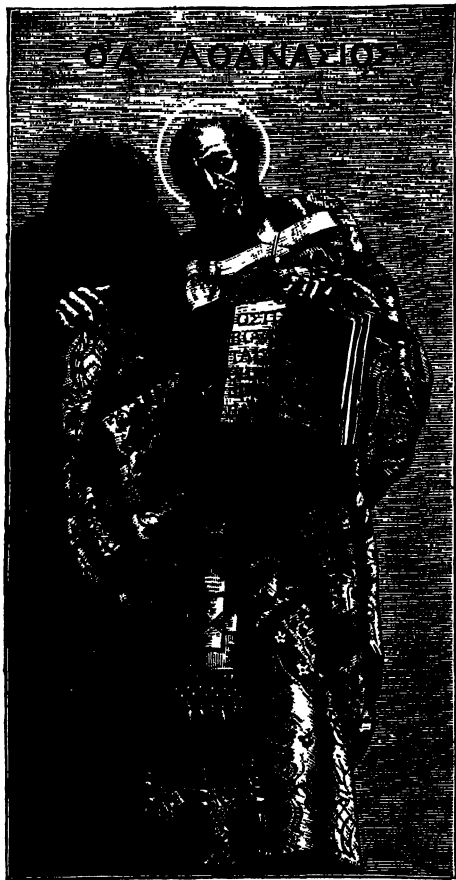
(Chief Pontiff), and was not baptised till he was near death. Consequently some deny to Constantine the title of Christian; yet he undoubtedly was its steadfast protector and promoter. For details of his celebrated (and probably fabulous) dream, in which he saw a cross in the heavens with the legend, "By this conquer," followed by the appearance of Christ, we must refer to secular history. To this dream is traced his adoption of the monogram-cross on his standard called *Labarum*, the cross representing the two leading letters X (CH) and P (R) in the Greek name of Christ. This monogram was very largely used on the shields and helmets of soldiers, on coins and guns, as an amulet, etc., but it almost certainly dates from an earlier time than Constantine's.



We may here give some of the clauses of the Edict of Milan (313) which first granted universal toleration in religion. It granted "both to the Christians and to all, the free power of following the religion which each chose, and that none who should give his mind to the rites of the Christians, or to that religion which he thought fittest for himself, should at all be denied its exercise." Later, Constantine exempted Christian ministers from all military or civic services, abolished numerous laws and customs that were specially objectionable to Christians, gave facilities for setting Christian slaves free, made bequests to churches legal, and contributed largely to their building; had his sons educated in Christianity, ordained the civil observance of Sunday, and removed the symbols of the Roman gods from his coins. Among his principal advisers were Hosius, Bishop of Corduba (Cordova), in Spain, as early as 313; and later, Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, the great church historian, and Lactantius, often called the Christian Cicero.

Constantinople was from the first a Christian city, adorned with churches and crucifixes, and pictures from sacred history. Constantine not only attended Christian worship, but himself wrote and delivered addresses strongly in favour of Christianity, calling

himself the Bishop of bishops. We must pass lightly over
The Donatista. Constantine's action in reference to the Donatist
schism in Africa. His intervention was first



ST. ATHANASIUS.

sought by the Donatist party, and after the Council of Arles (314), and the Emperor himself at Milan (315), had pronounced against the Donatists, and for the Catholic

party which held the Romish Church, yet he was so far tolerant, when they stood firmly to their principles, as to grant them full liberty of faith and worship.

A more famous controversy led to the summoning of the first of the great Christian Councils known as *œcumenical*, that of Nicæa, in 325. This was the **Arian controversy**, which centred about the **Arianism** teaching of Arius (256-336), a native of Libya, who first became notable by attacking the moderation of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, towards the lapsed. Arius, then a deacon, was excommunicated by Peter, but was restored and ordained presbyter by his successor, Achillas. A still later bishop of Alexandria, named Alexander, was charged with Sabellianism by Arius, who brought forward views which may be traced to those of Paul of Samosata, and maintained that the Son was created by God out of nothing, and afterwards created the world, and was invested in large measure with Divine power. Against him Alexander maintained the unity or identity of substance (*Homœousia*) of the Father and the Son. Having been condemned by a Council of Egyptian and Libyan bishops, Arius went to Nicomedia, where the Bithynian bishops declared his views orthodox. Thence he issued works of various kinds in support of his belief, and the whole Church was shaken so much, that in 324 the Emperor Constantine addressed the Alexandrian Church in terms of great solicitude, begging for the return of peace. This proving unavailing, Constantine **The Council of Nicæa** conceived the plan of calling a general council, which assembled at Nicæa in 325. The Latin Churches sent only seven bishops, and Sylvester, of Rome, was not present, though represented by two presbyters. In all there were over 318 bishops at Nicæa, including the Patriarchs Alexander of Alexandria, and Eustathius of Antioch. In the debates which followed, Athanasius, Archdeacon of Alexandria, became conspicuous **Athanasius** as an antagonist of Arius. The party of Arius was in a great minority, but he defined his doctrine with great clearness, not only maintaining the finite existence of the Son, but also denying that He was immutable or

incapable of sin. A moderate party, led by Eusebius of Cæsarea, was in favour of declaring the divinity of Christ in words derived from the New Testament; but the



ST. GREGORY OF NISSA.

majority insisted on declaring the full Homoousian doctrine, and embodied it in the famous Nicene Creed, as far as the words "and in the Holy Ghost": the rest of the Creed having been added by the Council of Constantinople

in 381. Arius was banished to Illyria, his books were burnt, and other severe penalties were decreed against him and his followers. The power of the State was thus formally used against heretics for the first time. Yet when Constantine was approaching death, Eusebius of Cæsarea induced him to recall Arius, who drew up a creed which satisfied the Emperor, and the semi-Arian party of Eusebius regained their influence at Court. At Alexandria, Athanasius became bishop on the death of Alexander, and refused to re-admit Arius to communion, as he had been condemned by the œcumenical council. But after several attacks had been made against him, Athanasius was banished by the Emperor to Treves (336); his Church still refused to receive Arius. The latter was about to be received back by the Church of Constantinople, when he was suddenly taken ill and died (336). He was acknowledged to be of an unblemished moral character, modest in demeanour, and ascetic in life. The controversy became even fiercer after his death; an Arian bishop was afterwards appointed to Alexandria, and Athanasius was condemned by successive synods and councils, and exiled more than once (343, 356), while the Arians violently persecuted the Catholics. Meanwhile the followers of Eusebius of Cæsarea, after his death, became a distinct party called the *Homoiousians*, the term expressing the belief that the essence or substance of the Son was *like*, though not *the same* as that of the Father; they also held that the Son was like the Father in all things, and was not a creature, but begotten as a Son before all worlds. This doctrine was adopted by the majority of Eastern bishops. The Arians became more pronounced than Arius, emphasising the view that the Son was a creature, and unlike the Father both in substance and in will. A series of councils vainly endeavoured to compose these theological differences.

The Emperor Julian, a grandson of Constantius Chlorus, though educated in Christianity, renounced it before being named Cæsar in 355, and when he succeeded to the empire in 361, he proclaimed his pagan

Later
victories of
Arianism.

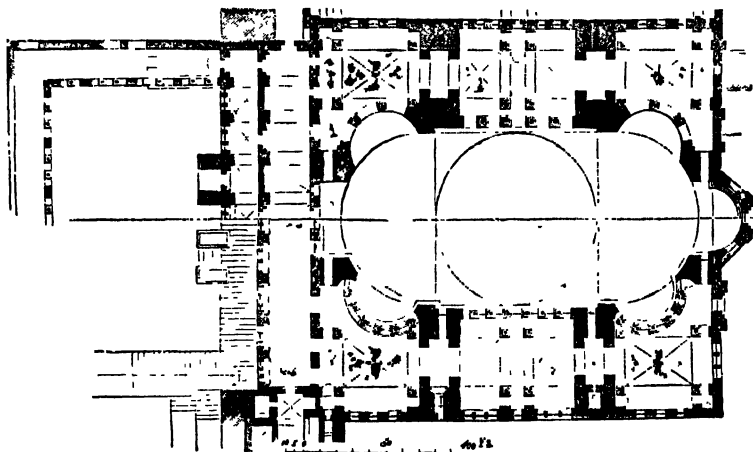
Death of
Arius.

Exile of
Athanasius.

Julian the
Apostate.

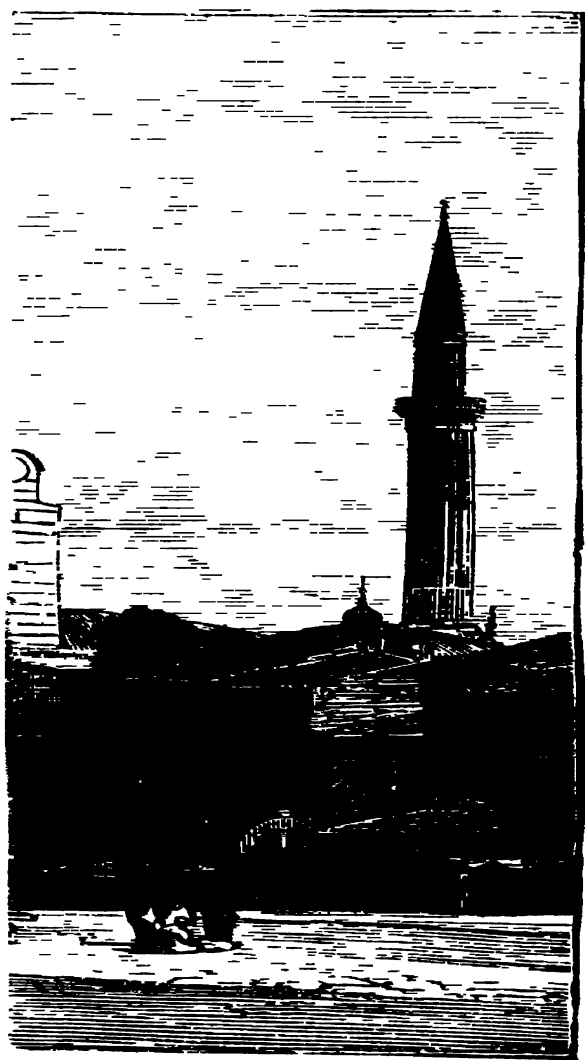
faith, while granting universal toleration. But he took away from Christianity all the peculiar honours granted by Constantine, and renewed the worship of the old gods at great cost. He encouraged the Jews, as being enemies of Christianity, and forbade Christians to teach rhetoric and grammar in schools. He even attempted to remodel the pagan priesthood, and to moralise the old mythology. Comparatively few persons, except his immediate flatterers, followed Julian in his return to heathenism and his name was branded as Julian the Apostate.

The impartiality which Julian boasted had one impor-



GROUND PLAN OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

tant effect, in taking away from the Arians the advantages they had gained. The exiled Catholic **Athanasius in power.** bishops returned to their dioceses (361), and Athanasius was restored to his see of Alexandria, only to be again banished on a frivolous pretext in 362. But Julian's death in 363 restored the supremacy to Christianity, and the new emperor Jovian adopted the Nicene creed and gave Athanasius a leading place in his councils. The great bishop remained in possession of his see till his death in 373. Most of his writings were in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. They include



"Orations against the Arians," a treatise on "the Incarnation of the Word," and "Epistles in defence of the Nicene Creed," all written in a clear and cogent style. All historians bear testimony to his singular ability, conscientiousness, and judiciousness, his fearlessness in the midst of opposition, his patience and perseverance, which was fitly summed up in the motto "Athanasius against the World." The creed to which his name is attached probably expresses his views, but it is not known to have existed before the sixth century or even later, and it was first used in Church services in Gaul in the seventh century, at Rome in the tenth century. The Greek Church only received it after altering the article on the Procession of the Holy Ghost.

His writings and character.

The Athanasian Creed.

After many fluctuations and much controversy, Arianism was suppressed within the Roman empire by the end of the fourth century by the coercive action of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian II.; but many of the Teutonic converts to Christianity adopted Arianism, which they only slowly gave up, the Lombards retaining it till 662.

Arianism in the West.

Theodosius the Great (379-395) on his baptism (380) issued an edict that none should be recognised as Catholic Christians but those who adopted the faith in the co-essential Trinity. Gregory Nazianzen, who had distinguished himself as an orthodox teacher, was made bishop of Constantinople (but soon resigned) at the council of Constantinople (381), to which none but believers in the Nicene Creed were summoned. This council added to the creed the paragraph describing the nature of the Holy Ghost, as proceeding from the Father (the words "and the Son" were added at the council of Toledo in Spain, A.D. 589), and His equality with the Father and the Son. This council also condemned the Apollinarian heresy, which taught that Christ possessed a real body, but that the "rational soul" in Him was replaced by the Divine Logos.

Council of Constantinople.

In the West a remarkable man, Ambrose, prefect of Liguria, was called to be bishop of Milan in 374 by the popular voice, though only a layman and a catechumen.



ST. ANTHONY.

He thereupon sold his property for the poor, and led an ascetic life. He was the first bishop who censured, withstood, and overawed emperors, and maintained the superior rights of the Church. Miracles are reported in connection with his important actions. He refused to receive the Emperor Theodosius to communion after his massacre of the Thessalonians in 390 until after he had spent eight months in penance and seclusion, and had granted an edict forbidding capital punishment to take place till at least thirty days after the sentence. He died in 397, two years after Theodosius. His influence on Christian hymnology and liturgical sayings was great, and several of his hymns are extant. He procured the confiscation of the revenues of heathen temples and the withdrawal of most of the privileges of their priests and vestals. In 382 the emperor Gratian removed from the meet-

ing-place of the Roman senate the altar of the goddess Victory, on which the senators took the oath of fealty, and on which offerings were made at every meeting. The old sacrifices were forbidden, and many temples were destroyed. In Alexandria the Serapeum and most other temples throughout Egypt were destroyed. In 392 Theodosius issued a comprehensive edict against heathenism of every description throughout the empire, and he also exercised strict discipline against Christian heretics, the Manichæans, Arians, and all others not recognised as true Catholics. The old religion however continued to have many adherents, as is made evident by the frequent decrees against them during the first half of the fifth century; and the Goths, who had become Christians, when they invaded Greece and Italy, destroyed many temples and altars which survived, and were more zealous against heathenism than the Roman Christians.

During all this period monasticism had been spreading. From the earliest times of Christianity there had been a strong tendency towards withdrawal from public life to attain greater sanctity. Some **Hermits.** of the gnostic sects strongly believed in asceticism, celibacy, and solitude. Hermits were not infrequent, especially in Egypt and Syria, in the third century. Paul of Thebes was the first who was very noted, having retired to the desert of Upper Egypt in 251 in his twenty-third year; he is said to have lived ninety years alone.

St. Anthony is the great founder of monasticism. Born of Coptic parents about 251, in Lower Egypt, in 270 he sold the estate left by his parents and gave the proceeds to the poor, and adopted an ascetic life, with the rule, "Pray without ceasing," though continuing to work. Later he lived in a tomb, in a ruined castle near the Red Sea, and in a cave between the Nile and the Red Sea. In all these retire- **St. Anthony.** ments he was attacked by sensual temptations, and was said to be personally assailed by the devil. Ever cheerful, he gave advice and consolation to all comers, and was said to have worked many miracles. He hated heresy, especially Arianism, and in 351, when 100 years old,

appeared in support of Athanasius, at Alexandria, and converted many heretics and heathens. He died in 356; and his life, written by Athanasius, proved a powerful stimulus to the monastic life.

St. Symeon Stylites was the first of a type of solitary monks who practised forms of voluntary pain. **St. Symeon Stylites.** He was a shepherd who is said to have fasted throughout Lent for twenty-six successive years. In



ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

423 he betook himself to a solitary place forty miles east of Antioch, where he stood for thirty-six years on the top of a pillar surrounded by a railing, sometimes leaning, and often bowing in devotion. The pillar was gradually increased in height, till at last it was thirty-six cubits high. Food was taken up to him by his disciples by means of a ladder. Here he preached twice a day to those who resorted to him, and gave counsel to kings and emperors. He died in 459.

Developing the idea of monasticism to which St. Anthony had given such vivid life, Pachomius, also born in Lower Egypt, founded in 325 a society of monks on an island in the Nile. The order grew till, when the founder died, in 348, there were eight or nine societies, numbering 3,000 members. The members were not bound by rigid vows, and varied manual labour was mingled with religious exercises. Three lived in each cell, eating in common but in silence, making their wants known by signs. Pachomius also established a cloister of nuns under his sister, whom he did not allow to visit him, saying that she should be content to know that he was still alive. In the East, especially in Pontus and Cappadocia, monasticism grew rapidly, and Basil and Gregory Nazianzen made the monasteries centres of religious education. In the West Athanasius first started monasticism into vigorous life, and it was attended with fewer vagaries of asceticism than in the East. St. Martin of Tours, a zealous destroyer of temples, founded the first monastery in Gaul, near Poitiers, and while Bishop of Tours, led a monastic life at the head of eighty monks. He was reported to have conflicts with the devil, and to have three times raised the dead to life.

We cannot dwell on the many names of eminent Churchmen during the fourth century, who by their writings and teachings settled the great Catholic doctrines. Eusebius of Cæsarea (270-340) was the great ecclesiastical historian of his time. His *Life of Constantine* is extremely eulogistic. His "*Præparatio Evangelica*" and "*Demonstratio Evangelica*" are of high importance, and storehouses of learning. Basil the Great (329-379), Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, an ascetic, and founder of a hospital for lepers, whom he did not fear to kiss, was a noble example of Christian fortitude. When threatened with confiscation, banishment, and death by the Emperor Valens for his resistance to Arianism, he said: "Not one of these things touches me. His property cannot be forfeited who has none. Banishment I know not, for I am restricted to no

place, and am the guest of God, to whom the whole earth belongs. For martyrdom I am unfit; but death is a benefactor to me, for it sends me all the quicker to God, in whom I live and move." Among his writings were 365 epistles. Though Catholic as to Arianism, he did not take the highest ground about the Deity of the Holy Ghost, and thus incurred the displeasure of the high Catholics.

Gregory of Nyssa was the younger brother of Basil, and a voluminous and acute writer. Among his more

Gregory of Nyssa. important works were a great catechism of Christian doctrine, and a book on "The Soul and the Resurrection." He believed in the final redemption of all intelligent creatures. Gregory Nazianzen

Gregory Nazianzen. (330-391), the bosom friend of Basil, was most noted for the eloquence of his orations, especially five delivered at Constantinople in defence of the Nicene belief. He is esteemed only second to John

St John Chrysostom. Chrysostom, who was born at Antioch A.D. 347, and chosen Patriarch of Constantinople in 398.

His eloquence won him his surname Chrysostom (golden-mouthed); and he was unsparing in denouncing the hypocrisy of the court of the Emperor Arcadius, successor of Theodosius I., and the vices of his age. He was more than once banished by court influence, and died during a compulsory journey to the east of the Black Sea, in 407. He wrote more than 600 homilies, 242 letters, and many other works.

Epiphanius (died 403), a Jewish convert, wrote three important works against heresies. Cyril, Bishop of Jeru-

Epiphanius, salem (died 386), wrote an important catechetical work on Christian theology. Ephraem the

Cyril, Syrian, the great divine and poet of the Syrian Church (died 379), wrote commentaries in Syriac on the whole Bible, and hymns that were long popular.

Lactantius (died 330) was the earliest great Father of the Latin Church, and the tutor of Constantine's son

Lactantius. Crispus in Gaul. His "Divine Institutes" is a great refutation of heathenism and defence of Christianity, full of eloquence. Hilary of Poitiers (died

368), called the Athanasius of the West, wrote a great work on the Trinity. Hieronymus, commonly known as St. Jerome (340-420), one of the greatest and most learned of the Fathers, combined with his great ability and zeal, much bitterness, pride, love of power, and irritability. Born on the borders of Dalmatia and educated at Rome in profane learning, on receiving Christian baptism about 370 he became an ascetic, and

Jerome.



ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

travelled to the East, coming under the influence of Gregory Nazianzen, and acquiring much Greek and Hebrew learning. In 382 he went to Rome and assisted Bishop Damasus in his correspondence. By this bishop's suggestion Jerome began to revise the Latin version of the Bible, which became the foundation of the Vulgate, and which he afterwards completed at Bethlehem, translating the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew. He

was a successful promoter of monasticism at Rome, and had many disciples among noble ladies whom he incited to celibacy, beneficence and asceticism, and whom he praised extravagantly. The widow Paula and her maiden daughter Eustochium were among his intimates, and were made the occasion for reproaching him. He left Rome for the East in 385, followed by these ladies, and in 386-7 they settled at Bethlehem, already a centre of religious devotees. His Latin version of the Scriptures was denounced as a corruption, and as a daring innovation. He died in 420, leaving, besides his translations, commentaries on many books of the Bible and numerous letters and religious tracts.

Early in the fourth century Christianity was introduced into Ethiopia (Abyssinia), and Frumentius, ordained by

**Christianity
beyond the
Empire.**

Athanasius, became the first bishop of Axum. In the middle of the century the Gospel was preached in Arabia, and even reached India.

In Persia it maintained the ground gained in earlier centuries, and Christians were tolerated for long periods or persecuted, according as peace or war prevailed between Persia and the Roman Empire. The Goths, first evangelised by Roman captives, were represented by a bishop, Theophilus, at the Council of Nicæa. Ulfilas, his suc-

The Goths.

cessor (348), descended from Cappadocian captives, led a large number of Christian Goths across the Danube to ask protection from the emperor (355) from tyranny at home; and his labours in Mœsia were invaluable. He invented an alphabet for

Ulfilas.

the Mœso-Gothic language, reduced it to writing, partially translated the Scriptures into it, and was largely instrumental in spreading Arianism among the Gothic people, who, when they conquered Rome, cruelly persecuted the orthodox Catholics.

Christianity as a State Church largely influenced politics, and was itself in turn influenced by the State. It was

**Christianity
as a
State Church.**

not that, as in so many other cases, State and religion rested upon one common basis, the ruler being either ex-officio priest or inseparably connected with the priestly class. The Christian priest

based his claims upon the unseen, upon a Divine revelation independent of any earthly power, and had a standpoint from which he could impartially judge, censure, denounce, or approve of earthly potentates: and he did not fear death or temporal penalties in comparison with his hope of heaven and dread of hell. Naturally the clergy wished to direct public events to favour the ends they believed righteous; but they not infrequently fell under the temptation to gain court influence by servile behaviour. Consequently the emperors ^{the emperors.} assumed a sort of guardianship of the Church, and an attitude of watchfulness against the spread of erroneous opinions, which really acted as a check to freedom of thought and opinion. But the emperors were seldom original thinkers in religion, and depended upon one or other party in religious thought or political questions. Yet they did not hesitate to summon councils of the Church and even to preside at them, and to ^{Power of} enforce their decisions as if they were State ^{bishops.} laws. Religious disputes were again and again brought for decision to the imperial courts, and one party at least always found it advantageous to have the support of the physical force wielded by the Empire. The bishops even gained a sort of civil authority in regard to religious questions referred to them, for the governors and magistrates were ordered to carry out their decisions.

With this influence it is not surprising that the clergy began to claim exemption from civil law, and to demand that they should be judged only by their spiritual peers. But they also exerted a humanising ^{Power of} effect over the laws and their administration, and often ^{clergy.} interceded for offenders, gaining respite for them that they might by prayer and penance make peace with heaven, protecting those who resorted to the churches for asylum. Even in these respects abuses crept in, and some made gain out of their intercessions, or protected gross criminals without reason. As the Church increased in wealth and influence, many entered the ministry from motives of ambition, especially in the great cities, and there was a tendency to seek gifts, legacies, etc., from the

wealthy. But many bishops and clergy showed conspicuous munificence and self-denial, and by their labours for the poor, by building hospitals, redeeming captives, and other pious works, showed the reality of their Christian profession. Deacons gained more and more influence, and had enlarged spiritual functions, being sometimes permitted to preach and baptise, though as yet forbidden to administer the Eucharist. One of their number presided in each Church, was termed arch-deacon, and often succeeded to the bishopric. The marriage of the clergy became less frequent in this century, especially in the West.

As the clergy rose in esteem, so the bishops became more and more elevated above the clergy, and were less subject to popular election. Emperors, other **Exarchs and Primates.** bishops, canons which fixed the qualifications of bishops, accusations by factions, all had much influence in these appointments. The superior bishops of Constantine's thirteen dioceses gained the title of *Exarchs* in the East and *Primate* in the West. We have already seen that the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria were recognised by the Council of Nicæa as presiding over the Western, the Eastern and the African Churches respectively. The Council of Constantinople (381) assigned to that diocese precedence next to Rome. It was not till 451 that the Council of Chalcedon gave to these four chief bishops the title of Patriarch and Pope (Papa).

The See of Rome. The See of Rome at first gained its dignity more as being the bishopric of the ancient capital of the Empire than as the See of St. Peter. The council which met at Sardica in Illyria in 343 granted that bishops might appeal, if they desired it, from a synod to Julius, Bishop of Rome, but if this required to be granted, it was not generally acknowledged as a right. In the fourth century the Churches generally held to their local and provincial rights against all attempts of the Roman bishops to exercise authority over them, and the Eastern and African bishops took their own independent course. But the transfer of the seat of empire to Constantinople and elsewhere made the bishop of Rome

more prominent, and by reason of frequent appeals for advice and decision from conflicting parties in the East, by the habit of referring questions to Rome throughout the West, and by constantly taking the orthodox side, the Roman bishop became more and more a pontiff, exercising a sort of imperial power in the Church. Letters (decretal epistles), sent from Rome in answer to applica-
 tions, gave directions and even commands, and were written in the name of the bishop, who gradually became known as the Pope. The fourth century placed the Church in a very different position as an established Church from that which it had occupied in the preceding three centuries.



ANCHORITE.



CHAPTER VI.

The Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries.

St. Augustine—His "Confessions"—His conversion—Made Bishop of Hippo—His influence—Pelagius—Cœlestius—Pelagianism condemned—Semi-pelagianism—Theodore of Mopsuestia—Nestorius—Cyril—The Council of Ephesus—The Nestorians—Eutyches and Dioscurus—The Monophysite controversy—The "Robber-synod"—Council of Chalcedon—Later Monophysite proceedings—Theodoric—Justinian—Fifth general council—The Monothelites—Sixth general council—The Syrian Jacobites—The Copts—The Abyssinian Church—The Armenian Church—Doctrines—The Maronites—Christian progress among Goths, etc.—Conversion of Clovis—Increased power of the Pope—Leo I.—The Pope above human judgment—Relations with emperor—Development of Clericalism—Monastic life—St. Benedict—The Benedictine Order—Basilican churches—Memorial churches—Consecration—Relics—Crosses and crucifixes—Pictures and images—Worship of the Virgin—The Saints—Pilgrimages—Opposition to new practices—Jovinian—Vigilantius—The Creeds—Eastern Liturgies—Western Liturgies.

FROM this time forward we find a marked distinction between the questions agitating the Church in the East and in the West, presaging the separation which took place later. We will speak first of the controversies which surround the famous name of St. Augustine, since he partly belongs to the fourth century. Aurelius Augustinus was born not far from Hippo, in Numidia, in 354, his mother, Monica, being one of the most devout, affectionate, and intellectual women who have ever lived. His education was considerable, but his wayward life had more influence upon his subsequent thoughts. It is recounted in the deeply-felt "Confessions" written about 400, and acknowledged as a masterpiece of truthfulness and enthralling interest. "Thou hast made us for Thyself," it begins,

His "Confessions."

ST. AUGUSTINE.

“and our heart is restless till it rest in Thee.” From nineteen to twenty-six he was a Manichæan, but at last



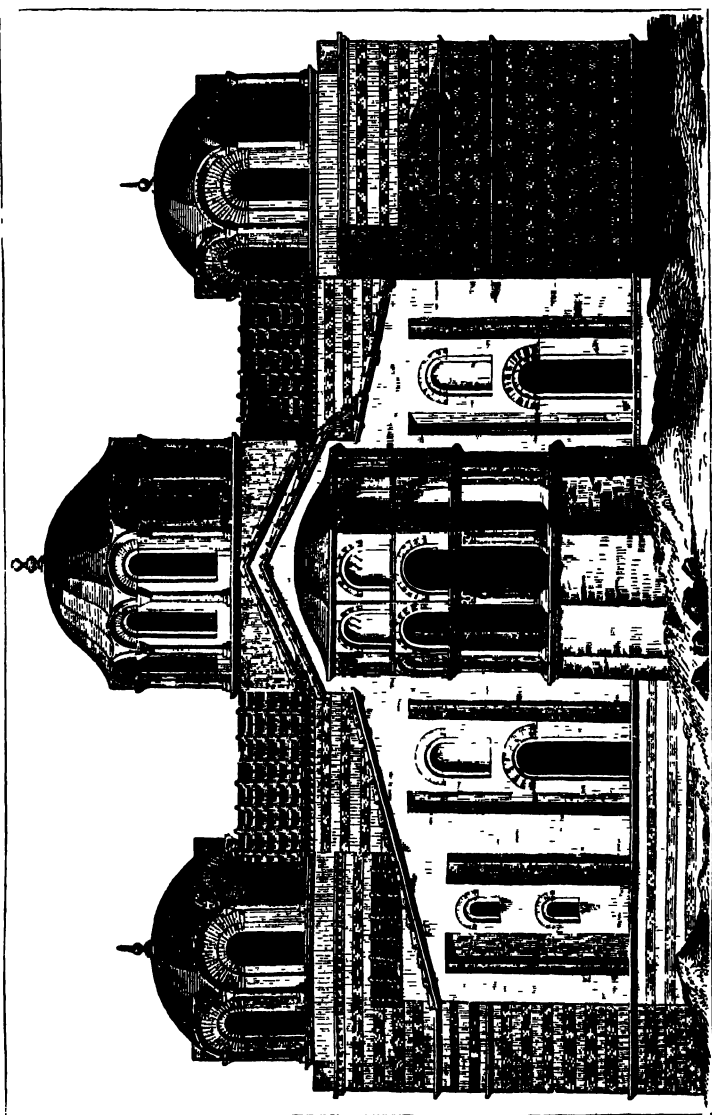
ST. AUGUSTINE AND MONICA.

found the doctrines untenable, and the lives of the leaders insincere. After teaching grammar and rhetoric at Carthage he went to Rome in 383, where he became scepti-

cal, in 384 migrating to Milan, still teaching rhetoric. Here he was a hearer of Ambrose, became a catechumen, studied St. Paul's writings, heard of the lives of St. Anthony and other recluses, and finally (in September, 386)

His conversion. was suddenly converted by the reading of Rom. xiii. 13, 14, "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." While on her way back to Africa with her son, Monica died at Ostia; and Augustine, after a stay at Rome, returned to Carthage in 388, was ordained presbyter in 391, and Bishop of Hippo in 393, which **Made Bishop of Hippo.** bishopric he held for thirty-five years, gaining a position second to none in the African Church. He died in 430, during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals. Among his voluminous works, personal, philosophical, apologetic, doctrinal, practical, and polemic, we must mention, besides his "Confessions," his "Retractations," written in 427, his "City of God," contrasting the transitory cities of earth with the eternal city of God, his "Discourse on the Apostles' Creed," his books "On the True Religion," and on "Heresies," and many controversial tracts and discourses.

Under the influence of St. Augustine the canon of Scripture was settled in its present form (including the **His influ- Apocrypha**) at the Councils of Hippo (393) and **ence.** Carthage (397). His exposure of Manichæism gave that system its deathblow; and through him the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father, and the Son completed the Nicene view of the Trinity. He took the Catholic side against the Donatists, with their strict exclusiveness and painful asceticism, and was in favour of using compulsory measures to reclaim them from their errors. His influence on the development of almost all the main Catholic doctrines was great, and has never ceased. Against Pelagius, he asserted the supreme importance of the Divine influence on man's redemption, deriving all human desire for good from divine grace, so that the entire glory belonged to God.



CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN MARY. CONSTANTINOPLE.

Pelagius, a British monk, born about 350, was an ascetic who especially exalted the human self-reliant element and the power of man's free will in his elevation.

Pelagius.

He visited Rome, Africa, Palestine, etc., and was opposed by both Jerome and Augustine, and by Orosius, a pupil of Jerome's. The latter accused Pelagius at a Synod in Palestine; but the dispute was referred to Rome. Cœlestius, a convert of Pelagius at Rome, developed his system intellectually, and the heresies with

Cœlestius. which he was charged were as follows: that

Adam was created mortal, and would have died if he had not sinned; that Adam's fall injured only himself, and that children were born uninfluenced by his fall; and that though unbaptised, children dying in infancy receive eternal life; that there were sinless men before Christ; and that the human race does not die through

Pelagianism condemned. Adam's fall. Cœlestius was condemned twice by African synods, and Pope Innocent I. endorsed the condemnation.

Zosimus, his successor, at first approved of Cœlestius and Pelagius, and later condemned them, ordering all who maintained their views to be excommunicated. Cœlestius was further condemned by the third œcumenical Council at Ephesus (431). But the Eastern Church did not adopt Augustine's views, and held a position (semi-pelagian) midway between Pelagianism and the Augustinian doctrine of free

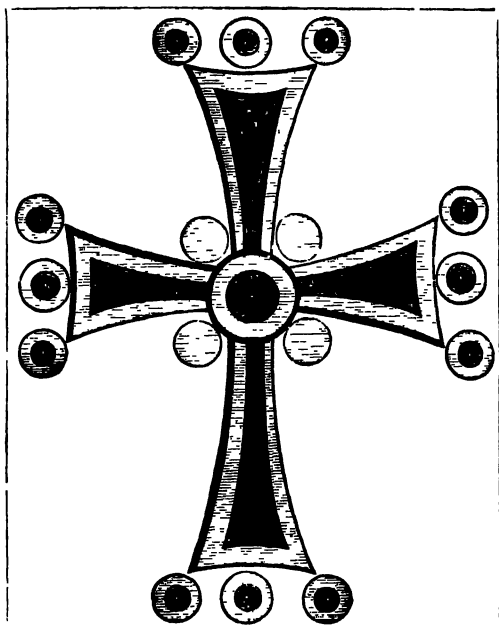
Semi-pelagianism. and irresistible grace and absolute predestination. John Cassian, a founder of cloisters for men and women at Marseilles, was the leader of semi-pelagianism in the West, and it obtained wide favour in the Gaulish Church.

The Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries, which absorbed so much attention in the East, though they also affected theology in the West, were attended by so much non-religious intrigue, and were so intimately connected with affairs of civil history, that it is impossible to recount them even in outline. We must barely mention the most notable names connected with them, and the conclusions settled by councils of the Church.

In contradistinction to the Apollinarians (p. 249), who represented Christ as having the divine Logos in place of a rational human soul, Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, and Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (from 393 to 428), ascribed to Christ a two-fold personality, with perfectly distinct divine and human natures. Nestorius, however, who became patriarch of Constantinople in 428, gave his name to this party, the Nestorians. Their views led to the naming of the mother of Christ "Theotokos," "mother of God," while the opposite party termed her "mother of man." Nestorius proposed the term "mother of Christ," but was quite as bitterly attacked as the Arians had been. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, was his unbending opponent. The turbulent but indecisive œcumenical Council, which met at Ephesus in 431 under Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., stigmatised Nestorius as a heretic, and he was deposed; and two years later, 433, the more moderate Nestorians agreed to accept the term "mother of God," in consequence of the union without confusion of the divine and human natures in Jesus; and at the same time condemned Nestorius, who died in 439. His doctrines were still taught in the theological school of Edessa in Northern Mesopotamia until its dissolution by the emperor Zeno in 489.

After their virtual expulsion from the empire, the Nestorians travelled widely, disseminating their rendering of Christianity in Persia, India, and China, and later in Arabia, Syria, and Palestine. In the sixth century their liturgy was translated from Greek into Syriac, as still in use. They were considerably favoured by the Moslems, and had much success among the Mongols. In the thirteenth century the Roman Church began a long series of more or less successful missionary efforts among them, by which many were converted, especially in 1551, and these are under a patriarch of the Chaldæans, nominated by the Pope. Those who remain true to their ancient theological position are under a patriarch of their own; the Church is but a remnant of its former self, numbering about 70,000 in

the Kurdish mountains and around Lake Urumiah. They reject the name and the doctrine of Nestorius, and call themselves Chaldæans. American missionaries have, in the last fifty years, made great efforts to counteract the Romish propaganda, and have printed a translation of the Bible and other books in their Aramaic language; and there are now a number of self-supporting Protestant Churches formed by Nestorian converts.



NESTORIAN CROSS.

Although in past times the Nestorians produced a considerable literature, little has survived except the Rituals and hymns. There are three liturgies—those of Nestorius, of Theodore, and the Apostles. Forms for daily worship are appointed to be said four times a day, consisting mostly of prayers, psalms, and readings of the Scriptures. In all essentials the Nestorians conform to

the Catholic doctrines, except in those points affected by their special beliefs as to the twofold personality of Christ. They recognise the Bible as their sole rule of faith; and they have never practised image-worship and confession, or believed in purgatory. Their patriarch and bishops abstain from animal food, and are celibates. They have a special annual commemoration of the dead. They have many and prolonged fasts during the year, which are strictly observed. They believe in apostolical succession, and derive their orders from the original foundation of the Church in Persia by two of the seventy disciples sent forth by Christ. In recent years cordial communication has been opened up between the Church of England and the Nestorians, in order to instruct the latter in Anglican doctrines, in the hope of inducing them to make acknowledgments such as would enable the two Churches to enter into cordial communion. An interesting body of Nestorians still exists on the Malabar coast of India, named after St. Thomas, to whom they attribute their conversion. They use a Syriac liturgy, and acknowledge the spiritual headship of the Nestorian patriarch.

The next great controversy, the Eutychian, had for its theological leader Eutyches of Constantinople, who held that Christ after His incarnation had only one nature, which was the nature of God become man. Thus it might be said, "God is born, God suffered, God was crucified and died." Dioscurus, Bishop of Antioch (444-451), was the leader in action of this "Monophysite" (one nature) party. Eutyches, attacked by Theodoret, was deposed by a synod at Constantinople (448), which declared that Christ after His incarnation consisted of two natures in one substance and one person. This belief was approved by Leo I., bishop of Rome (440-461). A Council held at Ephesus in 449 was so turbulent as to be called "the Synod of Robbers"; it absolved Eutyches on his repeating the Nicene Creed, and deposed and excommunicated Theodoret and even Leo, its decrees being ratified by the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian. After further intrigues, the fourth œcumenical Council was

**Eutyches
and
Dioscurus.**

**The
Monophysite
controversy.**

**The "Robber
Synod."**

held at Chalcedon, opposite to Constantinople, in 451, and **The Council** was attended by about 600 Eastern bishops, of Chalcedon and by two delegates sent by Leo of Rome. The proceedings of the "Robber Synod" were annulled, Dioscurus and Eutyches were banished, and the Nicene Creed was adopted, with an addition which acknowledged Christ "in two natures, without confusion, without severance, and without division." Finally, the Patriarch of Constantinople was declared to rank second to the Bishop of Rome, but with equal rights. Leo, however, claimed supremacy for the See of Rome, in virtue of St. Peter, its alleged founder.

The Chalcedon declaration was at once impugned widely, and its opponents, who maintained the oneness of Christ's nature, though acknowledging that it was composite, were known as Monophysites. They proclaimed that **Later Monophysite proceedings.** "God has been crucified," and altered the Catholic Sanctus to this form: "Holy God! Holy Almighty! Holy Immortal! who hast been crucified for us, have mercy upon us!" New commotions and divisions arose; an attempted compromise by the emperor Zeno, tacitly giving up the Chalcedon declaration, failed; and fresh division of parties arose. Meanwhile the Arian **Theodoric.** Theodoric, the great Gothic king of Italy, had proclaimed the tolerance of all religious rites, and asserted that "we cannot impose religion by command, since no one can be made to believe against his will."

Justinian, who came to the throne of Constantinople in 527, aimed at restoring the glories of Church as well as Empire, reclaiming heretics, and settling the **Justinian.** orthodox doctrines. He rebuilt the church of St. Sophia, and again rebuilt its dome after an earthquake in 557; for its service he appointed sixty priests, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, and other officials in proportion.

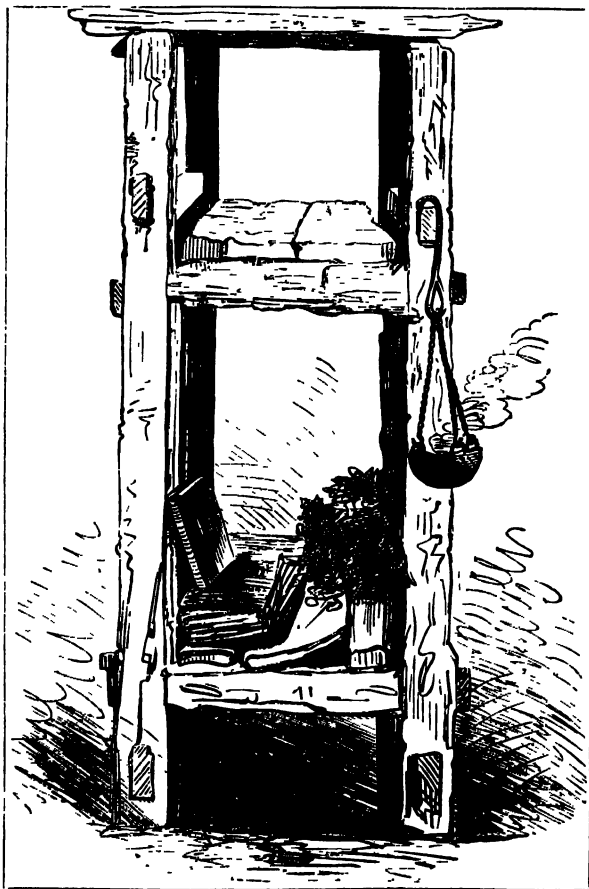
The decrees of the four general councils were made part **Fifth general Council.** of the imperial laws. Justinian condemned the Nestorian Theodore of Mopsuestia and the writings of Theodoret against Cyril, in the decree of the

"Three Articles," which ultimately led to the summoning of the fifth general Council at Constantinople in 553, with no Western representatives ; but its most important result was to assert the independence of the Eastern empire and Church of the bishop or Pope of Rome. The Monophysites were not reconciled to the Catholics ; but when Justin II. (565-578) issued an edict of toleration, the party gradually died out within the empire, though it remained active beyond the empire in the Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian Churches.

The Monothelite (one will) controversy in the next century turned on another subtle attempt to define the nature of Christ. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Theodore, an Arabian bishop, put forward ^{The} Monothelites. the view that in Christ there was but one will, and one life-giving operation, the Divine, controlling the human. In 649 Martin I., Pope from 649 to 655, held a council, at which the doctrine of two natural wills and operations, the Divine and the human, in Christ was declared ; and at the sixth general Council, held at Constanti-^{Sixth general} nople in 680-1—the last recognised as such by ^{Council} all Christendom—the Monothelite doctrine was condemned. and the doctrine of two wills was finally affirmed. "These two natural wills are not contrary, but the human follows the Divine and Almighty will, not resisting or opposing it, but rather being subject to it." At the same time the Pope Honorius I. (625-40) was condemned for his declaration in favour of one will.

Of the Monophysite Churches still existing, the Jacobite is the least numerous. It accepts the decrees of the "Robber Synod" of Ephesus, and rejects the ^{The Syrian} Chalcedon declaration. ^{Jacobites.} It is scattered over Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, numbering fewer than 250,000 members. It was founded by Jacobus Baradaeus of Tella, consecrated bishop in 541 or 543, and thenceforward an active propagator of Monophysite doctrines for forty years. The head of the Church, called Patriarch of Antioch, lives at Diarbekir. The members and indeed the clergy are as a rule very illiterate and ignorant. Many Jacobites have in recent years entered into the

Roman Catholic communion, under patriarchs at Aleppo and Damascus, and these have improved greatly in education and religious knowledge.



ABYSSINIAN TABOT, OR ARK.

The Copts of Egypt are very closely connected with the Syrian Jacobites, dating the origin of their
The Copts. monophysite faith from Baradæus. They have now about 130 churches and monasteries. They have a

patriarch, bishops, arch-priests, deacons, and monks. They practise circumcision at the age of eight years. They are but a remnant of the ancient Coptic Church, having undergone very severe persecution from their Moslem conquerors, and many having embraced Islam. As early



ABYSSINIAN PRIEST AND DEACON

as the time of Pachomius, the Psalms and other Scripture books were translated into Coptic; and a large portion of the Bible, several apocryphal gospels, gnostic works, homilies, martyrologies, etc., exist in that language.

The Abyssinian Church was founded by Frumentius,

a Tyrian merchant, ordained by Athanasius in 327, and **The Abyssinian Church.** afterwards first Bishop of Axum, in Abyssinia. Perhaps owing to the long residence of Jews in Abyssinia, Christianity is there more mingled with Judaic elements than anywhere else. Circumcision of male infants, as well as infant baptism, is practised; the Jewish Sabbath is kept in addition to Sunday; a great annual festival is kept, when the whole nation is re-baptised; and pork and other "unclean" food is strictly abstained from.

The Abyssinian Christians are zealous for the Monophysite doctrine. They revere saints, religious pictures, and the cross, but not the crucifix or images. The common people are very ignorant, and their religious notions are almost entirely superstitious, and their morals are little influenced by Christianity. Yet religious controversy is rife among them, and it is said that there are something like seventy different opinions held in Abyssinia respecting the union of the two natures in Christ. The churches in the province of Tigré are square buildings, while in Lasta and Amhara they are circular. Men and women enter by separate doors. There is an outer court formed by the projecting eaves of the roof, and supported by posts outside the main wall; in this the congregation meet to sing psalms. There is a chamber on the north-west termed the "house of bread," in which the priests make the bread and wine for the sacrament. There is a second court decorated with paintings of the Virgin and saints, and Scripture scenes; and an inner court, to the east, which only the priests may enter, containing the ark, usually of four upright wooden posts, with a shelf midway, on which one or more volumes of the Bible, and crosses and censers are kept, and a stone slab at the bottom, carved with mystic lines, and inscribed with the name of the patron saint of the church. The ark is kept screened from view by a curtain, and it is specially revered. Bells are not used, but the congregation is summoned by two pieces of stone hung in the churchyard being knocked together.

The Abyssinian "Abuna," or chief bishop, is appointed

and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria. He must be celibate, though the priests generally are married. The numerous monasteries and churches have valuable endowments; and the priests also receive large gifts and fees for the numerous offices they perform in relation to almost every department of life. They are on the whole unlearned, and do not allow the people to read the Gospel for themselves, but confine them to the Psalms. Funerals are celebrated with much religious pomp. The whole of the Psalms are recited; the funeral procession halts seven times on its way to the churchyard, when incense is burned and prayers are offered; and prayers for the dead are repeated frequently within forty days after burial. Anniversary memorial services are obligatory, and are gone through with a dummy figure on a bier. Altogether the Abyssinian Church is one of the most degraded forms into which Christianity has degenerated.

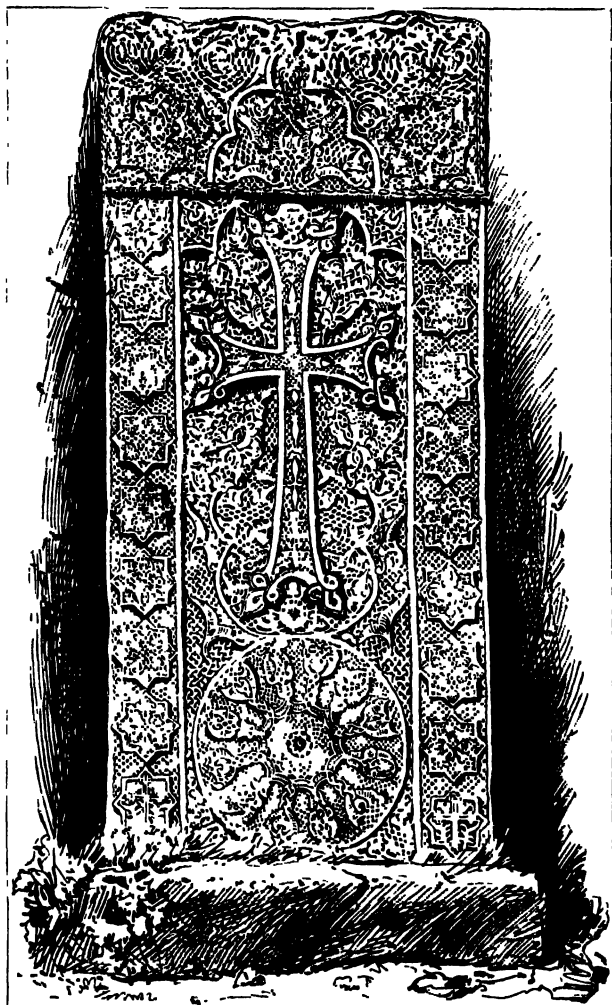
The Armenian Church was founded by Gregory "the Illuminator," prince of the reigning family of Armenia, at the end of the third century. His successors took the title of Patriarch, and later of Catholicos. The Bible was translated into Armenian in the first half of the fifth century, and does not follow any known text of the Septuagint or the New Testament. Armenian bishops took part in several of the Church Councils. Being unrepresented at the Council of Chalcedon (451), the Armenian Church never accepted its decisions, and in 491 their Patriarch annulled them. From this point the Armenian gradually lost touch with the orthodox Church, though they in later times denied that they held the Eutychian doctrine. Their bishops, however, attended the 5th, 6th, and 7th general Councils. In the fifteenth century the entrance of Jesuits into Armenia, who made many converts, occasioned much dissension. The Catholic Armenians became a distinct community at the end of the sixteenth century.

The Armenian Church now receives protection from the Czar of Russia, and its doctrines are almost identical with those of the Greek Church, deny-

ing the special doctrines of the Roman Catholics. They have the seven sacraments: (1) baptism by immersion, with anointing with holy oil, followed by the eucharist; (2) confirmation, at once after baptism; (3) the eucharist administered in both kinds to all, without mixture of water with the wine; (4) penance—confession with fasting; (5) ordination by anointing with holy oil; (6) marriage; (7) extreme unction—the anointing being only for priests, while others only have prayers said over them. The liturgy, of very early origin, contains the Nicene Creed with a damatory clause, and prayers of John Chrysostom and Basil. The dead are prayed for, though the Church does not believe in purgatory nor grant indulgences. Besides Sundays and the usual holy days of the Eastern Church, the Armenians observe ten national saints' days. They keep Christmas on the 6th of January. The priesthood, strangely enough in a Christian Church, is hereditary; during the lifetime of the father or grandfather, the heir of a priestly family may follow a secular calling, leaving it at the death of the priest he is heir to. But he may only marry before, not after ordination. Only the monks, called black clergy, can obtain the higher offices. The four Armenian patriarchs have their seats at Constantinople, Jerusalem, Sis (Nisibis) in Cilicia, and Etchmiazin, near Mount Ararat. The Church is entirely maintained by voluntary offerings of the people.

The Maronites, of Lebanon, numbering a quarter of a million, originated more especially from the Monothelite development of the "one nature" controversy. **The Maronites.** The name is derived from Maro, a fourth-century saint, to whom a great monastery in the valley of the Orontes was dedicated, presided over in the latter part of the seventh century by another John Maro. His preaching and zeal diffused Monothelite doctrines throughout the Lebanon district, in which many Christian refugees from the Mahommedans gathered together. In the latter part of the twelfth century the Maronites were for the most part reconciled with Rome, but they retain their own Syriac ritual, communion in both kinds, and married priests. They have a large number of monasteries and

convents. The people are very superstitious, and have



CARVED STONE WITH CROSS, THE GOSH M. RHITHAR MONASTERY,
ARMENIA.

suffered much from the Druses, who massacred them

cruelly in 1860. The College founded at Rome for the education of Maronites has produced a remarkable family of Oriental scholars, the Assemani. A small remnant of the Maronites still reject communion with Rome.

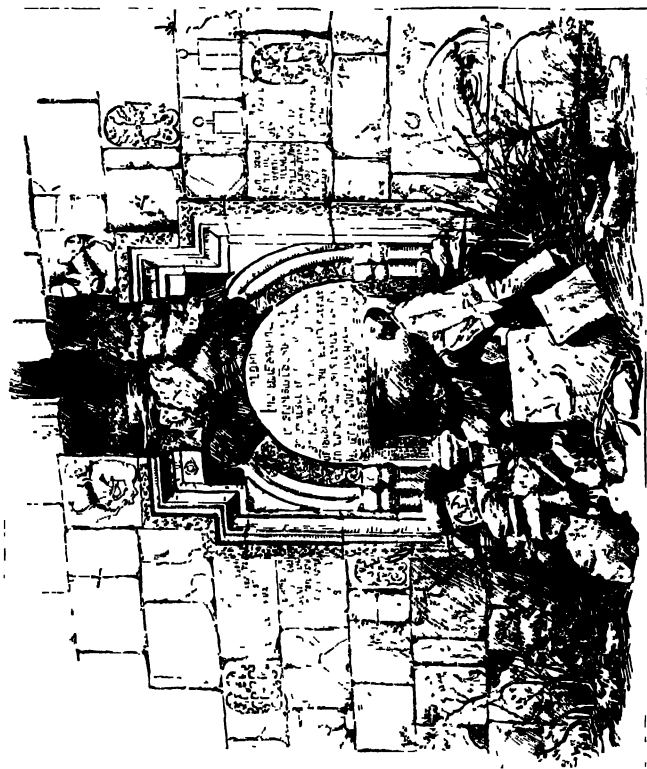
In the West the Goths, Vandals, and other Teutonic peoples had accepted Christianity to an extent which was considerably softening their ferocity, and making possible their union with the Latin nations. Retaining many of their old superstitions, often accepting Christianity merely at the bidding of their princes, and professing Arianism for the same reason, they persecuted and plundered the Catholics wherever they went. Belisarius (534), the great general of Justinian, in turn destroyed the Arian Vandals, especially in Africa.

Clovis, king of the Franks, was baptised in 496 by Bishop Remigius (died 533), at Rheims, and took the Catholic side. Being at this time the only Catholic monarch, all other Christian sovereigns being Arians or Monophysites, his successors on the Frankish and afterwards on the French throne received the title of Eldest Son of the Church. Clovis was not much less scrupulous in serving the ends of the Church than he had been before his conversion, but thought to atone for crimes by liberal gifts to churches and monasteries. He died in 511, the year in which the first Frankish Church Council met at Orleans. But the purity of religion degenerated greatly in the Frankish kingdom. Incredible miracles were alleged, superstitious and showy worship increased, while crime did not diminish.

Meanwhile the Popes of Rome, at first oppressed by the power of the Exarchs of Ravenna, who now acted as imperial viceroys in Italy, were raising their pretensions and consolidating their power, being the only strong authority left in Rome itself. Innocent I. (400-417) asserted jurisdiction over Eastern Illyricum, and claimed that all the Western Church should conform its usages to those of Rome. Zosimus (417-8), Boniface I. (418-423), and Celestine I. (423-432), still further advanced their claims; but Leo I.,

the Great (440-461), was the most successful asserter of the papal rights, claiming unbroken apostolic tradition on behalf of everything done by the Church at Rome, gaining the submission of the African, Spanish, and Gaulish Churches, and procuring from the

Leo I.



WEST ENTRANCE, MONASTERY OF ST. MACAR, ARMENIA.

Emperor Valentinian III. a law which declared the Bishop of Rome ruler of the whole Church (445). At the Council of Chalcedon his legates took equal presidency with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and in other ways he paved the way for the most advanced claims of medieval Popes.

During the Gothic rule over Italy, the Popes became

more evidently the pivot of the Catholic Church. Theodoric, called upon to decide between rival Popes, Symmachus and Laurentius, decided for the former; and when moral charges were brought against Symmachus, summoned a Council of Italian bishops in 501 or 503, which acquitted Symmachus, because of difficulties which "must be left to the Divine judgment." Ennodius, afterwards Bishop of Pavia, in a Defence of the Council, developed

The Pope above human judgment. the principle that the successor of St. Peter was above human judgment, and only responsible to God; and this view was adopted by the sixth Roman Council, held by Symmachus. The papal elections, with their intrigues, bribery, and strife, gave little countenance to the idea of human perfection surrounding the papacy. The Popes became dependent upon

Relations with the Emperors. the Emperors for their confirmation in power, in return for which the Popes received new temporal privileges. The papal ascendancy was maintained by appeals from all quarters, answered by "decretal epistles," given as from apostolical tradition, and asserted as being of universal authority. These epistles, together with the decisions of the Councils of the Church, were collected about the middle of the sixth century by Dionysius Exiguus, forming a standard text of Church law. Dionysius also framed the new cycle for the dates of Easter, adopted at Rome in 525, and settled the system of dating from the Christian era, which he placed four or five years too late. The most important events in Christian history at the end of the sixth century are the renunciation of Arianism by the Spanish Church at the Council of Toledo in 589, the election of Gregory the Great as Pope in 590, the mission of Augustine to Britain in 596, and the baptism of Ethelbert, king of Kent, in 597. But these events usher in the dawn of the medieval period, contemporary with the rise of Mohammedanism.

There are a multitude of interesting details about the development of Church order, government, and practice, in the fifth and sixth centuries, which we must pass lightly over. The tonsure, a shaving of more or less

of the crown of the head, was commonly adopted by the clergy in the sixth century. Schools of divinity ^{Development} arose at Alexandria, Antioch, Edessa, and other ^{of clericalism.} great centres, as well as in important monasteries. Bishops alone ordained ministers, and largely appointed them to their churches. Lay patronage, however, was granted by Justinian to founders of churches in 541. Celibacy of the clergy became common; though not required by any general Council, there was a growing assumption that no man could marry after becoming a deacon. Abuses soon arose which had to be corrected by special laws. Unfortunately, monasticism itself, with its strict professions, had a prejudicial influence on general Christian morality, it being thought that it was not necessary for ordinary people to aim at the correct conduct required of a monk. As the Church grew in State favour, it became infected by the worldliness of courts, and increased the pomp of its worship and the dignity of its surroundings, while too often showing glaring imperfections and impurity in conduct.

Monasteries naturally became the refuge of those who sought purity. The person of monks impressed the Goths and Teutons, who endowed monasteries in com- ^{Monastic life.} punction for their sins, and from fear or veneration held monastic buildings and revenues as well as monks sacred from spoliation and injury. Yet even in the monastic life degeneracy crept in; and when St. Benedict (born in 480 near Nursia, in Italy) began his remarkable career, there was much need of reform. In early youth he became an ascetic, and his piety ^{St. Benedict.} grew famous and was associated with many wonders and reputed miracles. Resorted to by many desiring instruction, Benedict founded twelve monasteries of twelve monks each in the hills forty miles east of Rome. Driven by envy to leave this locality, Benedict in 528 founded the monastery of Monte Cassino, which became the most famous and powerful in the Roman communion. Never ordained a priest, his influence far transcended his nominal position, and his system was established all through Western Europe before his death, in 543.

Benedict was the first who enjoined a vow of permanent monastic residence and discipline, marked by ceaseless **The Benedictine Order.** striving after perfection of character and conduct, chastity, labour, poverty, great moderation in food, and entire obedience to the abbot, the superior of the monastery. The giving up of all private property to the monastery formed a nucleus of corporate property, which rapidly increased, and enabled the Order to be hos-



ST. BENEDICT.

pitabile to strangers and the poor, and to set on foot many works of mercy as well as ecclesiastical and literary enterprise. The education of the young by the monks was made very important. Benedict had the judgment to allow in his "Rule" for different modes of life suitable for different climates, races, and circumstances. Episcopal supervision and the abbot's rule being granted, all the monks were held equal, and they chose their own abbots.

The monasteries were so planned that every necessity of life could be provided for within its walls, and no monk might quit the building except by special leave. Vanity was checked by forbidding a monk to do any work in which he showed a tendency to pride himself on his skill.

Within three centuries there were scarcely any monks in Western Europe who had not adopted the Benedictine rule. They were not organised as a body corporate, but gradually individual monasteries formed societies or "congregations," of which there were at one time more than 150, in addition to the monasteries remaining independent. Fifty Benedictine monks have become popes, the first being Gregory the Great (590-604). In the 14th century it was reputed that there had been 37,000 Benedictine monasteries, and in the fifteenth there were 15,000. After the Reformation they were reduced to 5,000, and now do not number more than about 800. The congregations of Benedictines differ in many respects from one another, being only united by the essential vows of the order. In Protestant and heathen countries their principal activity is missionary.

The temples of the old gods did not furnish the models for the new Christian churches, one reason perhaps being that their small and dark inner sanctuaries were ill-adapted to the public nature of Christian rites. The Roman law courts and business places known as *Basilicas*, open from end to end, were more suitable, and were either actually given to the Church by Constantine, or were taken as the models of new buildings. We cannot give details, but the general style of these churches is seen in the figures we give of St. Paul's outside the walls at Rome and St. Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna. The apse, the semicircular recess at the upper end in which the judges' and officials' chairs were set, was used for the bishop's and priests' seats and the Lord's table. It was known as the sanctuary or presbytery, and its wall was often covered with mosaic pictures of sacred subjects. The "Lord's table" was already in the fourth century termed "the place of sacrifice," translated by Jerome "altar," wood being gradually replaced by stone

in its construction, and the space beneath it being often used to receive the relics of the saint or martyr to whom the church was dedicated. Raised on steps, enclosed by pillars, with veils hung between, covered with a canopy or baldachino, decorated with gold, silver, and precious stones and carvings, it is not surprising that the altar on which the mysterious consecration of the elements of the Eucharist was performed, was specially venerated, and that the laity were kept at a distance from it by rails. The part next to it, the choir, had a raised floor, was set apart for the readers and choir, and included the desk or

Memorial churches.

pulpit. Memorial churches, on the model of Roman circular tombs, were circular or polygonal, often domed, and from these the Byzantine type of architecture developed, of which the beautiful church

Consecration. (now mosque) of St. Sophia at Constantinople is the finest representative. All churches

were specially consecrated to divine service; and the possession of relics of some saint was early held of primary importance. The consecration service, at first simple,

Relics.

became a complex one, with special ritual, and it was essential that the Eucharist, consecrated by the bishop, should be placed with other relics in a chest. The sacredness of churches was further assured by forbidding arms to be worn in them; hence they became places of asylum from violence; but ordinary criminals, Jews, slaves, and other special classes were excluded from its protection. The loss of the relics took away the sacredness of the building.

Crosses, carved and sculptured in various forms, were conspicuous ornaments of churches, and, as the material

Crosses and crucifixes.

symbol of redemption, became venerated and even worshipped as having some mystic virtue; and in obedience to the same tendency to believe in charms, the sign of the cross was often made in order to preserve from danger. The Emperor Julian sneered at the Christians for reverencing the cross, and in the sixth to the eighth centuries numerous Christian writers defended its adoration, and adduced marvellous narratives to show the benefit of so doing. In fact, forms of service

for the adoration of the cross are to be found in ancient liturgies, both Roman and Greek. With the figure of Christ crucified added, the cross became a crucifix, though in the beginning purely symbolical and not realistic in its representation. At first the type of the "Lamb of God" was used, and the crucifix was only ordained to be set up in churches at the Council of Constantinople in 691. Even before the fourth century pictures had come into use in churches; but separate pictures and images of Christ and sacred personages, at first **images.** regarded as contravening the second commandment, in the fifth and sixth centuries were commonly set up, especially those of the mother of Jesus with her infant son. Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, thus defended image-worship in the latter part of the sixth century: "I, worshipping the image of God, do not worship the material wood and colours; God forbid; but laying hold of the lifeless representation of Christ, I seem to myself to lay hold of and to worship Christ through it."

We have already recounted the controversies about the veneration of Mary as "Mother of God," which developed a tendency to think of her on the same level **Worship of the Virgin.** as Jesus Himself; and it was a Monophysite Patriarch who first placed her name in all the prayers of his liturgy. In Justinian's reign she was invoked for the prosperity of the State; and the tendency to pray for the aid of a female mediator, which had been strong in the Greek and Roman religions, was transferred to the Virgin Mary. The surviving feeling for the old religion, too, welcomed the veneration of saints and martyrs in the place of the deified heroes; and prayers and vows to them became common. Relics were manufactured to meet the demand, as well as stories of spurious miracles; and marvellous biographies of saints, some with a foundation of fact, others entirely fictitious, were written and circulated. The title of "saint," at first and of **The saints.** right belonging to every Christian, as separated from a worldly life, was gradually confined exclusively to those who were conspicuous for their holy life or martyr's

death. Names were inscribed in the roll of saints, and read out as deserving of commemoration, by authority of the bishop, and later of the metropolitan, synod, or even Emperor. Days were set apart for commemorating them, often the anniversaries of their martyrdom, and thus ecclesiastical calendars came into use.

Holy places also grew into reverence, beginning with the scenes of Christ's life and death. Constantine's building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the "finding of the true cross" by his mother Helena powerfully stimulated the idea of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Fragments of the supposed true cross were spread throughout Christendom, and were venerated as most sacred relics.

There were not wanting opponents of the new practices of monasticism, invocation of saints, worship of relics and images, etc.; but their voices were overpowered by the strength of the supporters of the tendency of the times. Aërius, an Armenian (fourth and fifth centuries), Helvidius, Jovinian and

**Opposition
to new
practices.**

Jovinian.

Vigilantius in the Western Church are the most notable of these early Protestants. The three latter were all violently attacked by Jerome, who was very indignant at the success of Jovinian at Rome, who taught that all baptised Christians, if their conduct was consistent with their professions, were equal in Christian privileges, and that neither celibacy nor monasticism placed them on a special pedestal. Jovinian was excommunicated and banished from Rome about 390; and he appears to have died before 406. Vigilantius,

Vigilantius.

born just north of the Pyrenees, became acquainted with Jerome in his house at Bethlehem, and excited his ire by his opposition to the worship of departed saints and their relics. Vigilantius thought it was better for a man to seek objects of charity around his own home, rather than give his property entirely to the poor or to the monks. The strength of Jerome's antagonism is a measure of the difficulty such a teacher had in getting heard by those who were most influential in the Church; and Vigilantius and his fellows were doomed to failure.

The creeds of the Church were practically settled in this period. The Nicene Creed, though mainly determined as we have already related, was based on an ancient baptismal creed found in the *The Creeds.* "Apostolical Constitutions," and it was as a baptismal creed that it continued to be used before it was inserted in any liturgy. In 511 Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople, ordered that it should be recited at every congregation; and about this time it was inserted in the principal Eastern liturgies. The Council of Toledo in 589 ordered that it should be recited before the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy.

The Apostles' Creed, often regarded as the oldest, from its name, was only adopted as a written creed, in the Western Church, later than the Nicene. It no doubt represents a very early baptismal creed, having various versions, which do not appear to have been early put into writing.

The Athanasian Creed, which is rather an argumentative and declaratory psalm, declaring the necessity of holding the Catholic faith as essential to salvation, was never a baptismal creed, nor was it the product of a Council. It is of Western though unknown origin, probably in the fifth century; it is first met with in the Gaulish Church, where its use spread into the whole Latin Church and part of the Greek. In 676 we find it required of every cleric that he should assent to this creed, at the Council of Cressy (Christiacum).

No fewer than a hundred ancient liturgies are known, the majority belonging to the Eastern Churches, centring round the metropolitan Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Rome. There are none which ascend to the apostolic age, though ascribed to apostles or evangelists, such as St. James or St. Mark; but they mostly took written form in the fourth to the sixth centuries. The Liturgy of St. Clement, probably the oldest, dates from the beginning of the fourth century. It is given in the "Apostolical Constitutions," and contains distinct services for catechumens and full members, very simple services, without even the Lord's Prayer, any creed, or the mention

of saints' names. The Liturgy of St. James is the oldest of those proceeding from Jerusalem, and arose in the fourth century; it includes the Nicene Creed, with the terms *Homousios* and *Theotokos*, and with commemoration of the mother of God and all saints, "that we through their prayers and intercessions may obtain mercy." From this were developed the liturgies named after St. Basil and St. Chrysostom—the latter, not originally associated with his name, being still regularly used in the Sunday services of the Greek Church, while that of St. Basil, a longer form, is reserved for Lent and some special occasions. A free translation into Syriac from the Liturgy of St. James is still used in various forms, in the monophysite Eastern Churches. The Liturgy of St. Mark (Alexandrian), used in Egypt till the twelfth century, contains the Nicene Creed as enlarged at Constantinople, and is probably derived from the Liturgy of Cyril. The Liturgy of Edessa, also termed that of Thaddæus, originated with and is used by the Nestorians.

The Western liturgies include the Ephesian forms, connected with the name of St. John, and used in the early Western Churches of Spain, Gaul, and Britain; the Liturgies. Liturgy of St. Ambrose, still used in the diocese of Milan, and containing many of Ambrose's compositions, as well as others by Simplicius, his successor; and the Roman, or Petrine. The latter is very ancient in its leading features, but extant copies are not found of earlier date than the 461. The whole liturgy constitutes the Missal. The edition ascribed to Pope Gregory the Great, modified more than once, obtained precedence over every other, and was adopted by the Council of Trent.

We have thus traced the Church through the early stages of conflict, and its establishment as part of the Roman imperial system, to its gradual elevation above the civil power. We are now at the dawn of the medieval period, terminated by the Reformation. The greatest facts of this period are the final separation between the Eastern and Western Churches, the encroachments of Mohammedanism, and the evangelisation of the heathen peoples of Europe.



CHAPTER VII.

Christianity to the Separation between East and West.

(SEVENTH TO TENTH CENTURIES.)

Pope Gregory I.—Mission of Augustine to England—The early British Church—St. Patrick—St. Columba—Independent spirit of Celtic Church—Columban and St. Gall—St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany—Charlemagne and the Papacy—The Holy Roman Empire—Alcuin—The Eastern Church—The Controversy about Images—John of Damascus—Seventh Ecumenical Council—The Caroline Books against Images—Council of Frankfort—Leo the Armenian—Theodore the Studite—The Empress Theodora—Photius and Ignatius—Eighth Council (Roman)—Eighth Council (Greek)—Last disputes between East and West—Adoptionism—The Isidorian Decretals—The Real Presence—Paschasius—Ratramn—John Scotus—Predestination—Gottschalk—Scotus on "Predestination"—Hincmar—Council of Quiercy—Christianity in North and East Europe—Anskar—Olaf—Cyril and Methodius—Vladimir—St. Stephen of Hungary—the Wends, Lithuanians, and Pomeranians.

THE chief doctrines of the Christian Church being settled, and the ground plan of its organisation being complete, it enters upon its "middle age," lasting till the Reformation, and marked in the central point by the final separation of the Eastern from the Western Church. The great period of the Papacy begins with the remarkable Pope Gregory I., the Great. Born at Rome in 540, he was elected Pope in 590, when assaults of heretics, corruptions of members, etc., had greatly weakened the Church. In his own words the Church was "an old and shattered ship, admitting the waters on all sides, its timbers rotten, and shaken by daily

storms." He literally reorganised the Church, re-arranged the liturgy, established the Gregorian form of chanting, and asserted the supremacy of Rome throughout the West and in Africa. While recognising the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch as his equals, he strictly objected to the Patriarch of Constantinople calling himself œcumenical bishop, and also renounced the title for himself; yet at the sixth general council, 681, the title was granted

to the Patriarch of Constantinople, was claimed by the then Pope, and usually taken by succeeding Popes.

On the whole, Gregory was tolerant towards heretics, and succeeded in reconciling several Arian Churches by emphasising the first four councils and reckoning the fifth as less important. He was, however, zealous against the Donatists and in uprooting the remains of heathenism. He was a strong supporter of monasticism, and



POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.

his "Pastoral Rule" long guided the Western bishops. His 850 letters show remarkable practical wisdom. Before his death, in 604, he had heard of the success of the mission to England on which he had despatched Augustine in 596. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was baptised at Canterbury on Whitsunday, 597, followed by many of his subjects. Augustine became the Archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan of Eng-

**Mission of
Augustine
to England.**

land, and the old British church near Ethelbert's palace was his cathedral. Augustine also founded the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Canterbury, afterwards more famous under the name of Augustine himself.

Long before the Anglo-Saxon invasion, Christianity had been widely diffused in Great Britain, probably from Gaul; and we find it recorded on undoubted authority, that three British bishops, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius of Caerleon, attended the Council of Arles in 314, and others were present at the Council of Sardica in 347, and of Ariminum in 360; and after this time various notable churchmen, such as St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome, refer to the British Church. We have already mentioned that the originator of the Pelagian heresy was a British Christian, and bishops from Gaul visited Britain in 429 and 447 to counteract his influence, and to spread the gospel among the native Britons, now being deserted by the Roman legions. Gaulish monks from the great abbey founded by St. Martin of Tours at Marmoutier, preached the monastic life in Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

Christianity was introduced into Ireland in the latter part of the fifth century by Patricius, or Patrick, a Briton born near Dumbarton, in Scotland, of Christian parentage. In Ireland the tribe became the unit of ecclesiastical life. In fact, the chief became a sort of abbot, and the converted tribesmen and women devoted themselves to fasting and prayer, and often to celibacy. The chiefship and abbacy went together by hereditary descent. It is remarkable how the monastic life took hold of the Celts, who were so much in love with it that they went far and wide to propagate it, visiting many parts of Britain, and leaving their mark from Naples to Iceland, and extending as far as Franconia and Carinthia. St. Columba (521-597), a native of Donegal, of Irish blood royal, founded monasteries and churches in Ireland, and in 563 went to Scotland to convert the Picts. He received a grant of the

The early
British
Church.

St. Patrick.

St. Columba.

island of Iona in 563, and there set up the famous church and monastery which for 150 years was the head of the national Church of Scotland. His Church, established at first outside the influence of Rome, became opposed to the Roman Church in several points, such as the date of keeping Easter, a matter held to be of great importance, and refused to yield obedience to the Roman pontiff. The abbot of Iona, though usually only a presbyter, exercised the authority as of a pope over the numerous bishops under his jurisdiction.

Scotland, Ireland, and Wales produced numerous saints in the seventh and eighth centuries, and they converted a considerable portion of England which had not yet been reached directly from Rome. The monks of the Celtic Church are credited with having been better missionaries than parish priests, and their Church gradually waned before the more systematic efforts of the Roman missionaries. In the seventh century the Irish accepted the Roman date for Easter, followed by the Welsh in the middle of the eighth. The monasteries of the Celtic foundations long kept up their independence of diocesan bishops; but in the eleventh century their subjection was finally accomplished. The interesting details of medieval English Church history must be sought in more extended works, especially the conflicts of the temporal with the ecclesiastical power, and of England with Rome; but England did not in these times do anything in development of the main features of Christianity.

Meanwhile the Scoto-Irish monks were represented on the Continent by such men as Columban, who established monasteries under strict rule in the Vosges, and St. Gall maintaining his independence of the Pope; he afterwards travelled widely in Europe, dying in 615. His disciples also founded monasteries, the most famous being that of St. Gall in Switzerland. Other British missionaries evangelised Frisia in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The greatest missionary sent out from England in Anglo-Saxon times was Winfrid, afterwards known as

St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany (680-755), born at Crediton in Devonshire. In 716 he began to preach in Frisia, and in 718 received

St. Boniface,
the apostle
of Germany.



STATUE OF ST. BONIFACE.

authority from Pope Gregory II. to preach to all the German tribes. This he did with great success, destroy-

ing objects of heathen worship, and founding churches and monasteries. Gregory III. in 732 made him archbishop and primate of Germany. After the great victory of Charles Martel over the Saracens in 732, that monarch seized church treasures and possessions to reward his followers; and the imperfection of the hold which Rome had on the Frankish Church, as well as the numerous disorders that were prevalent, induced Pope Zacharias in 741 to commit to Boniface the task of reforming it. He secured the assent and authority of the State for his reforms, but was not able to enforce the obedience of the Frankish bishops to metropolitans or to the Pope. The Scoto-Irish preachers, too, gave him much trouble; and we learn that, in addition to their rejection of Roman obedience, they discountenanced saint and relic worship, and pilgrimages. He is said to have crowned Pepin King of the Franks in 742; but this is doubtful. On June 5th, 755, his tent at Dokkum in West Friesland was surrounded by armed pagans, who massacred the whole party of fifty-two, Boniface having forbidden resistance.

The connection of the Frankish kingdom with the Papacy had in 754 been strengthened by Pepin's accepting coronation at the hands of Pope Stephen II., who in 755 received from that king the famous *Donation of Pepin*, conquered from Astulfus, king of the Lombards, and constituting the beginning of the Papal States. Karl the Great (Charlemagne) in 774 extended the Donation to correspond with the old Exarchate of Ravenna, and at his several visits to Rome paid the utmost respect to the See of St. Peter and to the Pope. Pope Leo III. on his accession (795) offered to Karl the allegiance of the Roman citizens, sending him the banner of Rome and the keys of St. Peter's alleged tomb. Only a few years later (800) Karl was called on to pronounce judgment on serious charges against the Pope; and his court declared the Pope above all human judgment. On Christmas Day, 800, Leo crowned Karl in St. Peter's, and did homage to him as Emperor of the West, thus renouncing all connection with Constantinople, and

**The Holy
Roman Em-
pire.**

setting up what became afterwards known as the Holy Roman Empire.

From this point we shall not follow the details of ecclesiastical relations with the civil power, which de-



CHARLEMAGNE.

veloped into forms utterly alien to the spirit of Christ's teaching. We can only note those points in which further developments were given to the constitution of the Church or the forms and appurtenances of religious observance or creeds.

Karl successively forced Christianity on the Saxons, the Frisians, the Bavarians, the Avars of Pannonia, and the Bohemians; and missionaries followed in the wake of the conquerors. **Alcuin**, an Englishman, directed these latter efforts. Karl did much to spread education and reform religious administration according to the Roman system. He built among others the cathedral of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), where he died in 811.

Meanwhile, in the East, Mohammedanism had been making rapid progress, and winning from Christian dominion and profession large territories. **The Eastern Church.** The patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, and the bishoprics dependent on them, became merely nominal. In the eighth century the great con-

troversy on images rose into prominence, and **The controversy about images** the Emperor Leo III. followed his edict of 723 for the forcible baptism of Jews and Montanists by one forbidding the growing worship of images or pictures by Christians (724), which the followers of Mahomet charged against them as idolatry. The so-called images were mostly mosaics or pictures on a flat surface, sometimes appearing in relief by the arrangement of silver or other metals by which they were set off; and image-worship in the East by no means signifies worship of modelled or carved figures. The decree of Leo led to a rebellion, which was suppressed, and all images were then ordered to be taken down or coated over with plaster.

John of Damascus, author of the "Correct Exposition of the Orthodox Faith," came forward as an able defender of images. **John of Damascus.** He urged that the revelation of God in the flesh in the person of Christ had made images lawful, in order to represent to those of later times what His disciples and hearers had seen. Images, he said, were for the unlearned what books were to the learned. He did not adore the matter of the images, but the Author of matter, who for his sake became material that by matter He might work out man's salvation. Images of saints were lawful as memorials. He

refused to acknowledge the Emperor's right to interfere in the matter ; the ordering of the Church belonged to its pastors. Popes Gregory II. and III. similarly attacked



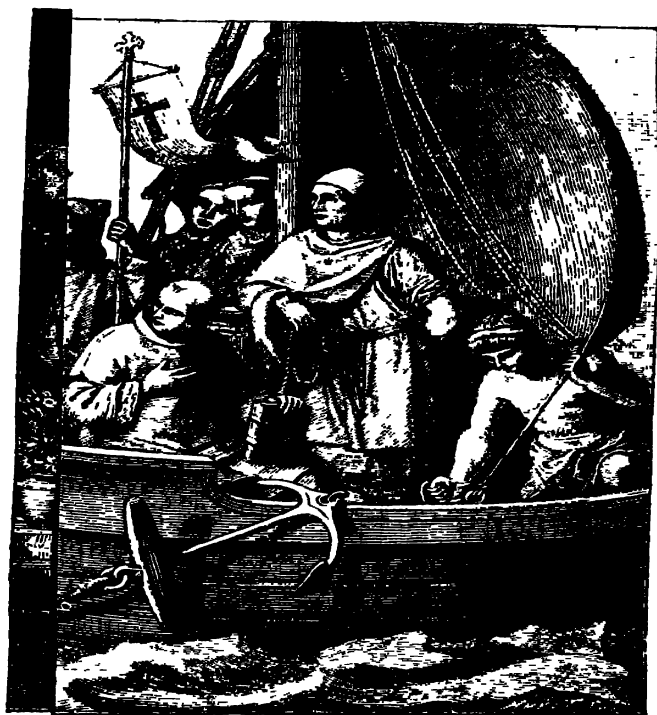
THE CATHEDRAL, BAMBERG, BAVARIA : FOUNDED 1004.

Leo, who in return transferred Greece and Illyria to the patriarchate of Constantinople (733). A council held at Constantinople in 754, but unattended by any patriarch

or any Western representatives, utterly condemned the use of images and pictures for religious purposes, but declared it lawful to invoke the Virgin and the Saints. The then Emperor Constantine V. substituted paintings of secular subjects for sacred images and pictures, and cruelly treated all who disobeyed his edicts. On his death in 775 the chief influence in the East came to Irene, wife of Leo IV., his successor. She was a great supporter of images; and during the minority of her son, Constantine VI., 780-797, she proclaimed liberty of conscience. A

Seventh Ecumenical Council. general council (the seventh œcumenical and second of Nicæa) was summoned, and Pope Adrian I. not only recognised the newly appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, Tarasius, but sent legates to the council (787). This council declared that images and pictures of Christ and the Virgin, as well as of angels and saints, should be set up for kissing and reverence, although not for true worship, which belonged to God alone. They were, however, to be honoured like the Cross, the Gospels, etc., with incense and lights, because the honour paid to the image passed on to the original. There was still a strong iconoclast element among the clergy and laity, and especially in the army, which had served under the iconoclast emperors.

The Churches north of the Alps felt the decision in favour of images as a great blow to their efforts at uprooting the worship of the old Teutonic idols; **The Caroline books against images.** and Alcuin, as it is believed, wrote the famous "Caroline books" in Karl's name, refuting the arguments of the council and exposing the fallacy of its position. He took the strong intellectual position that "those persons must have faulty memories who need to be reminded by an image, and cannot raise their minds above the material except by the aid of a created and material object." These lessons, he said, cannot be taught by the images themselves, for the merits of the saints are not external and cannot be seen; and the unlearned are the very class who will be drawn to pay real divine worship to the images. Great objection is taken to the adoption of opinions without apostolic warrant, which



POPE GREGORY II.

were condemned by the Fathers and early councils. The moderate conclusion reached is, that these images should be permitted and not destroyed, but that their worship ought not to be enforced. The Council of **Council of Frankfort** (794), presided over by Karl, aided by Alcuin, at which German, English, and Lombard, as well as Frankish bishops were present, with two legates from Rome, condemned what is termed "the late synod of the Greeks," and refused all adoration and service of images. Thus the path was paved for the Roman Church to throw in its lot completely with the new Western empire, and sever itself definitely from the East.

The iconoclast controversy was once more revived by Leo V., the Armenian, Emperor of the East (813-820), who in 814 ordered a general removal of images, and seated an opponent of images in the patri- **Leo the Armenian** archate of Constantinople. Theodore, head of the Studite monastery at Constantinople, strongly opposed **Theodore the Studite** the Emperor, was scourged, imprisoned in a dungeon, and threatened with death. Appealed to by him, Pope Paschal I. strongly supported the image-worshippers, and ordained priests for the Eastern Churches which refused the iconoclast priests. Leo V., in return, persecuted the image-worshippers most rigorously, and in consequence lost his life by a conspiracy which seated Michael II. on the throne, who recalled the image-worshippers, and replaced Theodore, though forbidding discussions and allowing each party to follow their own views. Finally Michael asked the aid of Louis, son of Karl the Great, in discouraging image-worshippers at Rome (824). Yet after several fluctuations, the **The Empress Theodora** worship of images was restored in Constantinople in 842 by the empress Theodora, mother of the infant Michael III.; and the first Sunday in Lent, the anniversary of the restoration, is celebrated at the present day in the Greek Church as the Feast of Orthodoxy.

There was yet another controversy in the East about images, which led to a dispute as to two rival **Photius and Ignatius** patriarchs of Constantinople, Photius and Ignatius, who were required by Pope Nicolas I. (858-867) to

come to Rome for a decision between them, the Pope claiming that the Roman Church was "the head of all, on which all depend." The conversion of the Bulgarians was complicated by the doubt about image-worship, the king receiving different advice from East and West. Finally the Latin clergy were driven out of Bulgaria, and a Greek archbishop was sent by the iconoclast patriarch Ignatius, and Bulgaria became firmly attached to the Greek Church. Meanwhile Photius held a council which anathematised Pope Nicolas; in his letter of invitation he accused the men of the West of corrupting the gospel with pernicious novelties, teaching a different system of fasting, forbidding the clergy to marry, and denying the right of presbyters to confirm. The greatest objection, however, was the "adulteration" of the creed with spurious additions, affirming that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, which he called blasphemy against God the Father. The violence of Photius is further shown by his calling the Romans apostates and servants of Anti-christ. But later Photius was himself deposed and anathematised. The eighth general council, according to the Romans, held at Constantinople in 869, at which the Pope was represented by two bishops, and at which also the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria were represented, again condemned the iconoclasts, and finally established image-worship in the East. This council agreed that pictures and images were useful for the instruction of the people, and ought to be worshipped with the same honour as the books of the Gospel. The strange whirligig of Eastern affairs, however, in 878 restored Photius once more to the patriarchate; and while he requested the co-operation of Rome in another council, he strongly asserted his independence in that council (called the eighth by the Greek Church, 879) which rejected the acts of the council of 869 against Photius. A little later, communion was again restored between the Greek and Roman Churches.

No other event of supreme interest marks the history of the Eastern Church for some centuries; it had to make strenuous efforts to maintain itself against the advancing

power of Mahometanism. In the eleventh century the Emperor Basil II. proposed to Pope John XVIII. ^{Last disputes} that the conflicting claims of Rome and Con-stantinople should be met by allowing to ^{between East and West.} each patriarch the title universal or œcumenical bishop; but the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael, denounced the heresies of the Roman Church, and especially the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and in 1053 closed the Latin churches and monasteries at Constantinople, while Pope Leo IX. was a prisoner with the Norman conquerors of Naples and Sicily. In 1054 he sent legates to Constantinople to seek a settlement, but Michael would not even discuss with them, and they left Constantinople after laying a solemn excommunication of him on the altar of St. Sophia. No later efforts of reconciliation were successful, and from this point no inter-communion has existed between the Roman and the Eastern Church.

In the West the controversy about images continued both in writing and in the discussions of councils, and there was considerable opposition to images within the Frankish Church till the end of the ninth century.

Before proceeding to mention the chief doctrinal controversies of the medieval Church, we must briefly notice the Western discussion about the Sonship of Christ, which was distinct in its type from the ^{Adoptionism.} Eastern disputes. During the reign of Karl the Great, Felix, bishop of Urgel in Catalonia, taught that Christ was the Son of God by *adoption* only, not by partaking of the Divine substance. After much controversy, Alcuin wrote a treatise against Felix, and discussed with him for six days in 799. Felix declared himself convinced, but was kept under supervision till his death in 818, when he left behind him a paper reasserting the principal points of his teaching; but he gained few adherents.

We cannot follow all the varying attitudes of the Western empire and the papacy in the ninth and tenth centuries, in which now one, now the other, emerged as temporarily supreme, nor the disastrous fall of successive Popes into gross immorality and arbitrary conduct. The

Frankish Church meanwhile kept considerably aloof from Rome, and even condemned or excommunicated a Pope when culpable. Pope Leo IV. in 852 built a wall around the suburb of Rome beyond the Tiber, enclosing the basilican church of St. Peter (on the site of the present St. Peter's) and the site on which the Vatican Palace now is; and from him it derived its name of the Leonine **The Isidorian city.** During this century a forged collection

Decretals. purporting to be Papal Decretals gained currency under the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville, in the first part of the seventh century, and was adopted by the Frankish and the Roman Church generally. It purported to contain nearly 100 decretal letters of bishops of Rome, some dating as far back as the apostolic times, and giving accounts of church councils which never took place; and the forgery was favoured by quotations from genuine materials. These forged letters exalt the power of the clergy, and raise bishops almost above any human judgment; also the Pope's power is carried beyond anything previously written. They were quoted and used in councils and by Church writers for centuries; and even when demonstrated to be forgeries, still continued to have influence. For what the clergy desired and believed, they readily accepted a plausible authority, without critical examination.

The belief in the material presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was taught in 831 by

The Real Presence. Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corbie. He held that after the consecration of the elements nothing was really present but the flesh and blood of

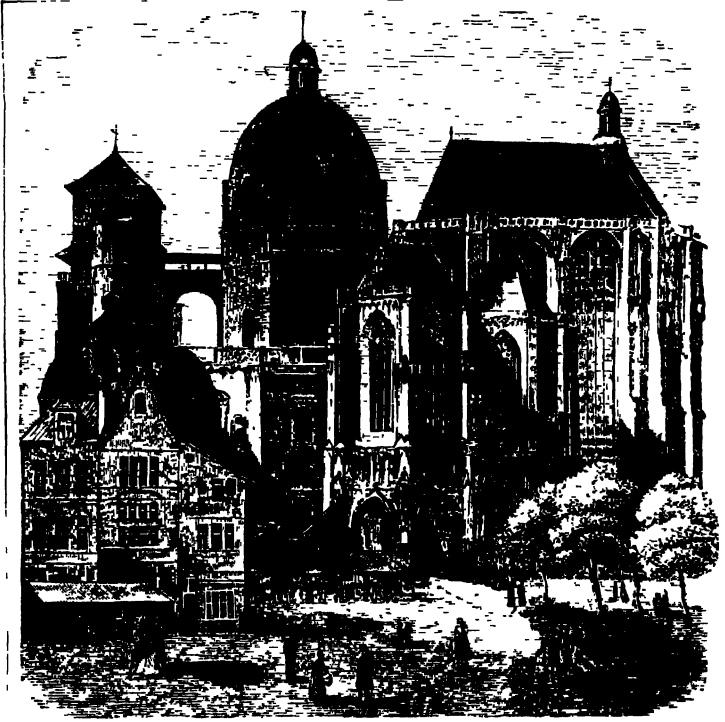
Paschasius. Christ, the same in which He was crucified and rose from the dead. Many Frankish Churchmen denounced the doctrine, the most eminent being Ratramn,

Ratramn. who said that the body and blood of Christ were only figuratively presented to the faithful soul in the Eucharist, the change being not material but

John Scotus. spiritual. John Scotus, the great Irish theologian of the ninth century, taught that the Eucharist was only a commemorative ordinance, and thus anticipated many Protestants. But this was denounced as heretical, and the doctrine of Paschasius was generally accepted.

Another great controversy, which has not yet died out, was that on predestination. The famous Gottschalk, a pupil of Alcum (786-856), son of a Saxon count, appears to have been the first to teach that not only were the good predestined to happi-

Predestina-
tion.
Gottschalk.



THE CATHEDRAL OF AIX-LA-CHAPPELLE.

ness but also the wicked to damnation. This was going beyond St. Augustine, who, while terming those finally lost "reprobates," did not say they were predestined to destruction, but that they were left to the just judgment on their sins. Gottschalk, though accused of it, denied that he represented God as the ordainer of evil, for His

double predestination was "good" in either case; God's just judgments must be good, and to those just judgments the wicked were predestinated, and their persistence in sin was foreknown. He held that Christ died only for the elect. Gottschalk had to go through the usual persecution suffered by those who bring forward any novelty in doctrine, being condemned by councils, rigorously treated by the inflexible Hincmar (Archbishop of Rheims from 845 to 884), and cruelly flogged in the presence of King Charles the Bald; but he maintained his opinions.

John Scotus, at the request of Hincmar, wrote his great treatise "on Divine Predestination," a work so subtle and free in its inquiries that it caused him to be accused of various heresies. He said it was improper to speak of Divine predestination or foreknowledge, because to God all time is present; but if the term be used, predestination must be eternal, and only to good. But the number of those who will be saved or lost is known by God, and therefore may be called predestined. At the same time Scotus asserts that the human will is

Hincmar: free to choose good or evil. After the publication Hincmar held a council at Quiercy (853).
Council of Quiercy. which asserted that man fell by the abuse of his free will; that God by His foreknowledge predestinated some to life whom He chose by His grace; but those whom He by His righteous judgment left in their lost estate, He did not predestinate to perish, but predestinated punishment to their sin. The free will, lost by the Fall, was recovered through Christ; God would have all men saved, and Christ suffered for all; and the ruin of those who perished is their own fault. After much further controversy, Hincmar wrote an elaborate work on the whole matter, addressed to Charles the Bald ("Epistola ad Regem"). Gottschalk was kept in prison twenty years by Hincmar's influence, who refused him the last sacrament unless he would agree to his own statements of doctrine. The old theologian steadfastly maintained his views, and died without sacrament; and burial in unconsecrated ground was given to this maintainer of independent thought.

A brief note must suffice to indicate the successive introduction of Christianity into the northern and eastern countries of Europe. In 826 Anskar, a monk of Corbie, was sent to evangelise Denmark and Scandinavia, and became one of the most famous and successful of missionaries. By his influence Denmark and Sweden formally tolerated and recognised Christianity. Anskar built hospitals, founded monasteries, redeemed captives, and did much to diminish the slave trade. When miracles were ascribed to him, he said, "If I were worthy in the sight of my Lord, I would ask Him to grant me one miracle—that He would make me a good man." He died in 865, and his work was well carried on by his friend Rimbert. A reaction took place under Gorm the Old, king of Denmark, who however was compelled by Henry the Fowler to put down human sacrifices. Cnut (Canute) as king of Denmark established Christianity on a sure basis, and definitely placed the Danish Church under the Roman. Heathen worship was not put down in Sweden till towards the end of the eleventh century. In the twelfth and thirteenth the Finns were converted; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some progress was made among the Lapps. Norway, partly evangelised by Anskar's efforts, long retained much heathenism. Haco the Good (934–961) followed Christian rites and brought English clergy to Norway, but was afterwards forced by his people to take part in the old heathen worship. Olaf Trygvason at the end of the century came forward as the Christian champion, and enforced the acceptance of baptism all through Norway. His great-nephew Olaf Haroldson (1015–1030), promoted Christianity by similar drastic measures. Under his son, St. Magnus, the new religion was fully established.

The Apostles of Moravia in the ninth century were Cyril and Methodius, sent from Constantinople in 803. They knew the Slavonic language, and translated the liturgy into it, and adopted it in public worship. Bohemia became Christian in the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Slavonic liturgy

was introduced there, but was violently opposed by the Roman clergy, who ultimately maintained the Latin form. Christianity advanced into Poland through Bohemia, and thus Poland became connected with the Roman Church, while the Russians were evangelised from Constantinople in the latter part of the tenth century. Vladimir the **Vladimir in** Russian destroyed the national god Perun at **Russia.** Kief, and compelled his people to be baptised Christians. From this time the Greek form of the Church was rapidly spread, and the Bible became known in Cyril's Slavonic version.

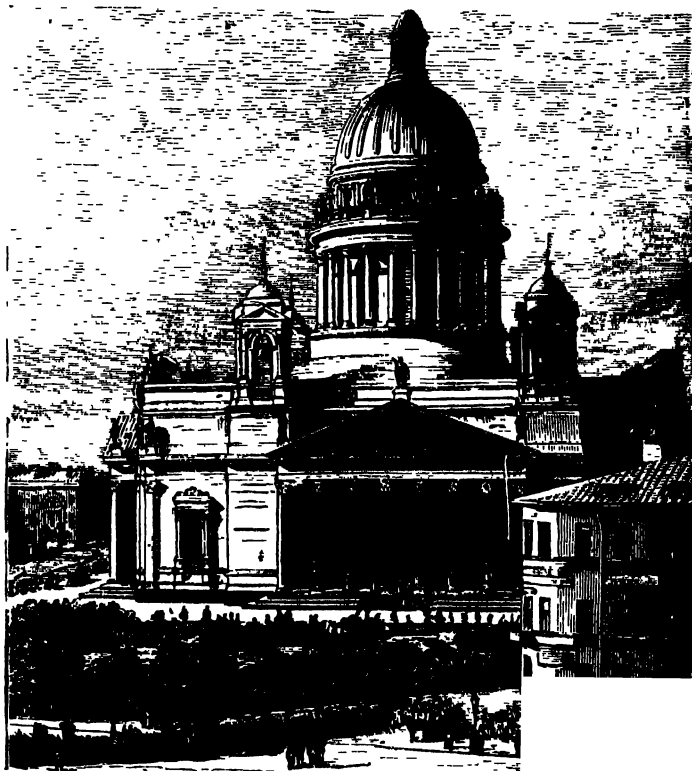
The Magyars and Slavonians of Hungary, while they first received Christianity through the Greek Church, **St. Stephen** eventually were connected with Rome through **of Hungary.** Waik, baptised Stephen, who was king of Hungary in 1000. He organised and endowed Christianity throughout his kingdom, built hospitals and monasteries, and for these and many other services was canonised as the patron saint of Hungary.

The Wends and Lithuanians of the Southern and Eastern Baltic, cut off by language and race from their **The Wends,** Christian neighbours, long resisted the efforts **Lithuanians,** of missionaries, and even the compulsion of **and Pomeranians con-** sword. In the sacred island of Rugen the **verted.** idolatrous worship continued after it had been expelled from the mainland. The Lithuanians, Finns, Pomeranians, Esthonomans, etc., offered a stubborn resistance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were largely massacred, rather than converted, by soldiers of the cross. The Pomeranians were almost exterminated by the Teutonic Knights. In Lithuania heathenism was re-established in the thirteenth century. Despite the strenuous efforts of both Greek and Roman clergy, it was not till the end of the fourteenth century that they were successful. The Roman Church prevailed on the union of Lithuania to Poland by a dynastic marriage.

During its first thousand years the Church of Christ was nominally united, though already practically split up into numerous divisions. A strong body of doctrine and an elaborate system of practice had been created, at the

cost of much division of opinion, of many bloody wars, of much excommunication and heart-burning. The struggle to create a Universal Church had very largely felt the influence of national tastes and tendencies. The tempting idea of securing unity by force and under one spiritual head had seized many minds. Opinion was developed into dogma and thrust on the unwilling by force.





ST. ISAAC'S CATHEDRAL, ST. PETERSBURG

CHAPTER VIII.

The Eastern Church—Russian and Greek.

The Orthodox Church in Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, etc—Its History in Russia—Vladimir II's dying injunctions—Moscow: The Kremlin—The Patriarchs—The Troitza Monastery—Russians and Poles—The Patriarch Nikon—Peter the Great—The Holy Synod—Oath of the Bishops—Ambrose—Plato—Philaret—Missions—Doctrines—Sacraments—Membership—The Hierarchy—Liturgy and Services—Monks—Parish Priests—Style of Churches—Icons, or Images—The Altar Fasts—Yearly Communion—Extreme Unction—Burial—The Czar's Position—Dissenters—The Old Believers—Other Sects—The Sabbatniki—The Molokani—The Duchoborzi—Mount Athos

THE "Orthodox" Eastern or Greek and Russian Church, although claiming to represent the stock from which all Christendom has originated, is to-day the smallest of the great divisions of Christianity; **The Orthodox Church** and unlike the Roman Church, it is subdivided by national boundaries. The Greek Church in a limited sense includes the Greek populations of Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and elsewhere, with Constantinople for its ecclesiastical centre and Mount Athos for its holy mountain. The patriarch of Constantinople is elected by a synod of bishops, but the selection must receive the approval of the Sultan. The Church of the kingdom of Greece is now acknowledged as independent of **In Greece,** Constantinople, and is organised with a synod of five bishops, as in Russia. The Servian Church, with some intervals of subjection to the see of Carlowitz in Austria, and to the patriarch of Constantinople, has been independent since 1830, with a patriarch at Belgrade. The Bulgarian Church, long semi-independent of Constantinople under an exarch, is now completely so; but the Bulgarian exarch lives at Constantinople, and **Bulgaria, Roumania, etc.** claims jurisdiction over Bulgarians outside Bulgaria. The Roumanian Church, though it was founded from Rome, was long governed from Constantinople; but one of the first proceedings of the Roumanian Government in 1861 was to declare the independence of the National Church, which is now under a primate living at Bucharest. There are also very many members of the Greek Church in the Austrian Empire; the great body of the Eastern Church is, however, that within the Russian dominions.

We have already referred to the conversion of Vladimir (buried at Kief and afterwards canonised), followed by the adoption of the Greek faith as the national faith **Its history in Russia.** of Russia, as it expanded from a small State to its present enormous extension. The spread of Christianity was easier in Russia than in any other country of Europe, a fact with which the early translation of the Scriptures and liturgies into Slavonic by Cyril and Methodius doubtless had much to do. The close relation

of the Russian Church to Constantinople has been shown by the fact that for five centuries the metropolitans of Russia were either Byzantines or closely related to Constantinople. Jaroslaw early in the eleventh century introduced into Russia the canon law and Christian education from Constantinople.

Vladimir the Second (who began to reign in 1113) **Vladimir II's** was a notable combination of fierceness with ^{dying} devotion, who left to his sons the following **injunctions** among other dying injunctions:—

"O my children, praise God and love men. For it is not fasting, nor solitude, nor monastic life, that will procure you eternal life, but only doing good. Forget not the poor, nourish them; remember that riches come from God, and are given you only for a short time. Be fathers to orphans. Be judges in the cause of widows, and do not let the powerful oppress the weak. Put to death neither innocent nor guilty, for nothing is so sacred as the life and the soul of a Christian. Never take the name of God in vain; and never break the oath you have made in kissing the crucifix. . . . Be not envious at the triumph of the wicked and the success of treachery. Fear the lot of the impious. Do not desert the sick; do not let the sight of dead corpses terrify you, for we must all die. Receive with joy the blessing of the clergy; do not keep yourself aloof from them; do them good, that they may pray to God for you. Drive out of your heart all suggestions of pride, and remember that we are all perishable—to-day full of hope, to-morrow in the coffin. Abhor lying, drunkenness, and debauchery. Love your wives, but do not suffer them to have any power over you. . . . Never take off your arms while you are within reach of the enemy. And to avoid being surprised, always be early on horseback. When you are on horseback say your prayers, or at least the shortest and best of all: 'Lord, have mercy upon us.'"

For centuries the metropolitan of Russia lived at Kief; but in 1320 his seat was transferred to Moscow. Here on **Moscow: The** the Kremlin hill was gradually built that vast **Kremlin** aggregation of palaces and churches which is the centre of Russian reverence. The patriarchal cathedral in its centre is the crowning-place of all the Czars, and contains the most sacred pictures in Russia. Already, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the metropolitan **The** was elected without guidance from Constanti- **Patriarchs**. nople. One notable metropolitan, Philip, suffered martyrdom from Ivan the Terrible, that strange mixture

of cruelty and temporary fanaticism in religion, for protesting against Ivan's many cruelties. In 1582 the patriarch Jeremiah created Job, the metropolitan of Moscow, a patriarch; and it was asserted that thus the place of Rome in the patriarchate, vacated by its schismatic conduct, was filled.

The extensive foundation of monasteries in Russia during the period of the Tartar invasions proved a great factor in preserving the liberties and religious life of the people. The most famous monastery in Russia, that of the Troitza (Holy Trinity), about sixty miles from Moscow, was founded in 1338, and became **The Troitza Monastery.** in addition to a monastery, a cathedral and group of churches, and a university protected within walls like those of a fortress; it has been enriched by successive Czars and multitudes of pilgrims, and it is now the greatest place of pilgrimage in Russia. It was first made sacred by the pious hermit Sergius, who in later life stimulated the Grand Prince Demetrius to his victory on the Don in 1380. And this tradition of patriotism was well kept up by later generations of prelates and clergy.

The same spirit was evoked against the encroachments of the Poles, who, being of the Roman Church, contributed largely to make the Russians dislike **Russians and Poles.** the Western Communion. The Poles were declared to be more debased and wicked than idol-worshippers, for their cruel conduct to members of the orthodox (Russian) Church. They were even said to have subjected them to Jews, who would not let them build churches, and deprived them of their priests. Church and State were identified in the contest between the two nations. When Moscow was in the hands of the Poles, and Roman masses were celebrated in the Kremlin, when patriarch and archbishop were done to death or carried captive, the monastery of Troitza held out, and its defenders were encouraged by Dionysius, the abbot. When it conquered, Russia was practically saved, and the future of the orthodox Church secured. From the priest Philaret, afterwards patriarch of Moscow,

sprang the present imperial line. Philaret and his son Michael Romanoff, the first Czar of the line, practically ruled the nation jointly. Seven years after Alexis came to the throne, in 1652 Nikon was made patriarch, and proved himself the greatest reformer of the Russian Church.

Nikon has been called a Russian Chrysostom, Luther, and Wolsey; but he was of a rougher type than these, **The Patriarch** grim-faced, of red hue, with bloodshot eyes, **Nikon.** and seven feet high. Of peasant stock, he showed virtues not specially due to his origin, but to a rare spirit of discernment and courage. He endeavoured to root out abuses, and especially intemperance, which had obtained a great hold on the clergy. He founded hospitals and almshouses, visited prisons, and relieved the famine-stricken. At his bidding the seclusion of women was made less stringent, and the empress was, for the first time, allowed to go to church publicly by day. He recognised the baptisms of the Roman Church, had Greek taught in the schools, spread the study of vocal music for church services, and set about obtaining the best Slavonic translation possible of the Bible. But among his most striking reforms was the introduction of preaching. His homilies and sermons at first astounded and tried the patience of the unaccustomed worshippers; and indeed his style seems to have been by no means perfect, in excuse for which his having no model to learn from may be pleaded. But his methods of discipline were too rigorous, and not framed in the spirit of the Founder of Christianity. His agents scourged, imprisoned, and otherwise cruelly treated priests and monks found drunk; and he showed no mercy to those who violated his decrees or his views of Church discipline. His enforcement of the Church ritual was rigid, and he banished foreigners relentlessly who refused baptism in the Church, or respect to the sacred pictures. But with all his austerity, he had instincts for magnificence, as shown by his monasteries, his patriarchal palace, and the state he kept up. At last, even his most faithful friend, the Czar, was alienated, chiefly, it must be owned, by the intervention



of Nikon's enemies. Nikon resigned his office, apparently expecting to be invited back; but the see was declared vacant (1658). It was not, however, till 1667 that he consented to the election of a new patriarch. But his enemies were not satisfied without his formal condemnation. They assembled a council of the Eastern patriarchs—the first that had ever met in Russia—together with the most distinguished bishops. He was degraded from his rank to that of a simple monk, and banished to the monastery of Therapontoff to spend the rest of his life in penance. In 1681 the new Czar, Theodore, consented to a scheme for his recall; but Nikon died on the journey to his own church of the New Jerusalem (a copy of the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem), in which he was finally buried.¹

Czar Peter the Great accomplished a more remarkable change in the Russian Church, namely the abolition of the Patriarchate. **Peter the Great.** Adrian (1690–1702) was the last patriarch; on his death a guardian was appointed. The archbishops in Russia and the Eastern patriarchs agreed to recommend the abolition of the office; and in 1720 it was definitely abolished, and in its stead a synod of prelates was instituted, as a governing body, appointed by the Czar. This body acts as the **The Holy Synod.** highest court of appeal in Church matters, examines and censures theological books, superintends all churches and convents, and conducts trials for ecclesiastical offences, etc. The Czar is represented in the synod by a lay procurator general, and on receiving the Czar's confirmation the decisions of the synod have the force of law.²

Peter had to encounter much opposition from the Rascolinks, or Russian Dissenters, who had bitterly opposed the reforms of Nikon. Peter's introduction of pictures by Western artists, his improvements in Church singing and in the calendar, and his attempts to forbid wearing

¹ See Dean Stanley's vivid account of Nikon in his "Eastern Church."

² See "The Russian Church and Clergy," *North British Review*, vol. liii.

beards, met with their most strenuous opposition on religious grounds. But Peter in the main carried his people with him, and the rebellions which arose were put down. He was able to introduce some *Oath of the Bishops*. the Russian bishops at consecrations, pledging them to put down pious frauds and culpable indolence. It is a striking commentary on the state of the Church as he found it, that such provisions should have been needed :—

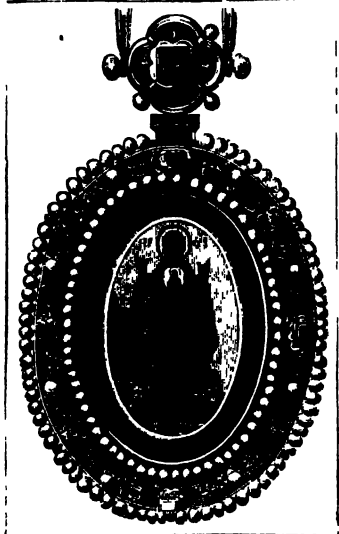
“ I promise and vow that I will not suffer the monks to run from convent to convent. I will not, for the sake of gain, build, or suffer to be built, superfluous churches, or ordain superfluous clergy. I promise yearly, or at least once in three years, to require on my visitations that there may be erected no tombs of spurious saints. Impostors who go about possessed, with bare feet and in their shirts, I will give up to the civil authorities, that they may drive out the evil spirits from them with the knout. I will diligently endeavour to search out and put down all impostures, whether lay or clerical, practised under show of devotion. I will provide that honour be paid to God only, not to the holy pictures, and that no false miracles be ascribed to them.”

Peter was aided in his reforms by Theophanes, Metrophanes, and Demetrius of Rostoff, the author of “ *Lives of the Russian Saints*.” Another saint in the next generation was Ambrose, archbishop of *Ambrose*. Moscow, who made a new translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew. His death (1771) was violent and tragic, owing to his having ordered the removal of a sacred picture to which the people had crowded in such numbers as to endanger the public health, during a severe pestilence. In the empress Catharine’s time Plato, *Plato*. the metropolitan of Moscow, with whom two such unlike men as Reginald Heber and Diderot were glad to converse, was famous throughout Europe. *Philaret*. Philaret, who became metropolitan of Moscow in 1826, revived the spirit of asceticism, and of religious warfare and propagandism. The conquest of Poland afforded opportunities, which were taken advantage of, for reclaiming to the orthodox religion the Uniats, who had acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, though they had changed in little else from the principles of the

Eastern Church. Missionary enterprise was aroused, and in recent years missions to Siberia, Kamschatka, and Japan have been successfully organised. **Missions.** Even in Western Europe and in the United States, Russian priests have gathered the members of the Eastern Church into congregations; and in 1879 a bishop was appointed to San Francisco, to supervise the congregations of the Pacific coast of North America.

The Greek Church, as regards its main doctrines, is very much in the position of

Doctrines. the early Church, and accepts the decrees of the first seven councils as we have already described them. Its great difference from the Western Church relates to the procession of the Holy Spirit, which, in accordance with the Nicene and Constantinople decisions, is from God the Father alone. On the question of Redemption, it holds that Christ has redeemed mankind, who had fallen by one original act of Adam; but God's grace is requisite to enable man to accept regeneration. It repudiates and censures the idea of priestly "indulgences." It also rejects



PECTORAL ORNAMENT OF RUSSIAN BISHOP.

the Romish doctrine of purgatory, believing in the existence of two separate places for the souls of the dead, where they await the resurrection and the final judgment. But prayers for the dead are admitted in hope that they may benefit them, through the mercy of God. The Greek Church also allows prayer to the Virgin Mary and to saints and martyrs, for their intercession, although it is by no means held that they have already attained heaven. The Sacraments recognised by the Greek Church are

seven, the same as those of the Latin Church. Four of these—Baptism, the Eucharist, ordination by laying on of hands, and penance—they regard as directly instituted by Christ. The other three are marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction, which are derived from the New Testament and the primitive Church. Baptism is by immersion of the body three times in succession; infants are baptised on the eighth day. It is believed that baptism entirely destroys original sin. Confirmation takes place at once after baptism, with anointing by holy ointment. In the Eucharist both (leavened) bread and wine are partaken of by all communicants, excepting infants, who receive only the wine. It is believed that the elements are changed into the body and blood of Christ, which are really received by the faithful. The consecrated bread does not, however, receive the same special veneration as in the Romish Church; when it is carried to the sick, the priests do not prostrate themselves before it, nor do they carry it in procession. The sacrament of penance is preceded by confession of individual sins to the priest, and absolution is given, on condition of the discharge of penances imposed, in the form “May the Lord absolve thee!”

The Church is regarded as composed of those who profess and believe the articles of faith. Outside the visible Church it is declared that there is no salvation. The Church being under the continual inspiration of the Holy Spirit, cannot err in matters of faith. Bishops, priests, and deacons form the ministry. Four patriarchs—of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria—equal in rank, constitute the upper circle of bishops. The patriarchs may agree to issue directions for the whole Church, but their decisions are not held universally binding unless ratified by a general council of bishops. Bishops alone confer the sacrament of Orders. They must be unmarried, while priests or deacons must be married, and may not marry a second time.

The term *liturgy* is specially given to the services of the mass, which, as we have already mentioned, are in

two forms, the shorter, named after St. John Chrysostom, **Liturgy and Services.** and the longer after St. Basil. These are, it is true, in Greek or Slavonic according to the country, but in such antiquated dialects that they are but little understood by the people. The daily services vary enormously, consisting mainly of prayers adapted to each day, in all filling many large volumes, and so intricate that few priests are perfect in them. They are read in a low and indistinct voice, so as to be almost entirely inaudible to the congregation; and this goes with an absence of devotional behaviour in the congregation, and not infrequently in the clergy. What we should term sermons are little known, the principal substitute for them being the recital of the life of some saint, often full of fabulous details and miraculous stories.

All the bishops are monks, and the entire ecclesiastical administration is in Russia in the hands of the monks, or **Monks.** "black clergy." Although in the last century a large portion of the property of the monasteries was confiscated by the State, the monasteries which survive are well-to-do, receiving, besides State grants, large sums in the form of voluntary offerings. The monks are mainly conservative; their rules are still those of St. Basil, enjoining religious ceremonies, prayer, and contemplation, very unlike the active labour, either in industry, art, letters, or philanthropy, often incumbent on Western monks. The upper classes of the laity call the monks in most frequently to perform marriages, funerals, etc., and pay them proportionately higher fees than the "white clergy" can exact. There are still many hermits in Russia, greatly revered.

The parish priest (called papa, or pope,) is usually the son of a parish priest; and being kept in a strictly subordinate position by the monks, he is antagonistic to the latter and little considerate of anything but the number of social or necessary religious ceremonies he can perform for fees. Of intellectual or spiritual knowledge he has usually very little. All wear long beards, with long hair parted down the middle, long over-garment with loose sleeves, and a longer under-gar-

**Parish
priests.**

ment reaching to the feet. They are collectively known as "white clergy."

Almost every Russo-Greek church is built in a form of the Byzantine style,¹ with a cupola or dome, surmounted by a cross, over the east end, and a belfry at the west. There is a large antechapel or entrance-hall; a main building in which the worshippers stand (there being no seats); and an altar enclosure, raised two or three steps above the rest of the building, with a wall or screen near the front completely covered with icons or pictures of the saints within silver or chased metal plates, representing the clothing of the saints, through which the painting of the face, hands, and feet is visible.² The four main pillars of the church are also completely covered with icons. (See our illustration p. 311.) In front of each icon is a candelabrum of great size, capable of containing thirty or forty candles. In the centre of this screen is a large double door, which is open during service, and behind which the priest stands during the liturgy. The whole space behind this is called the altar, containing a square table called the throne, which corresponds with the altar

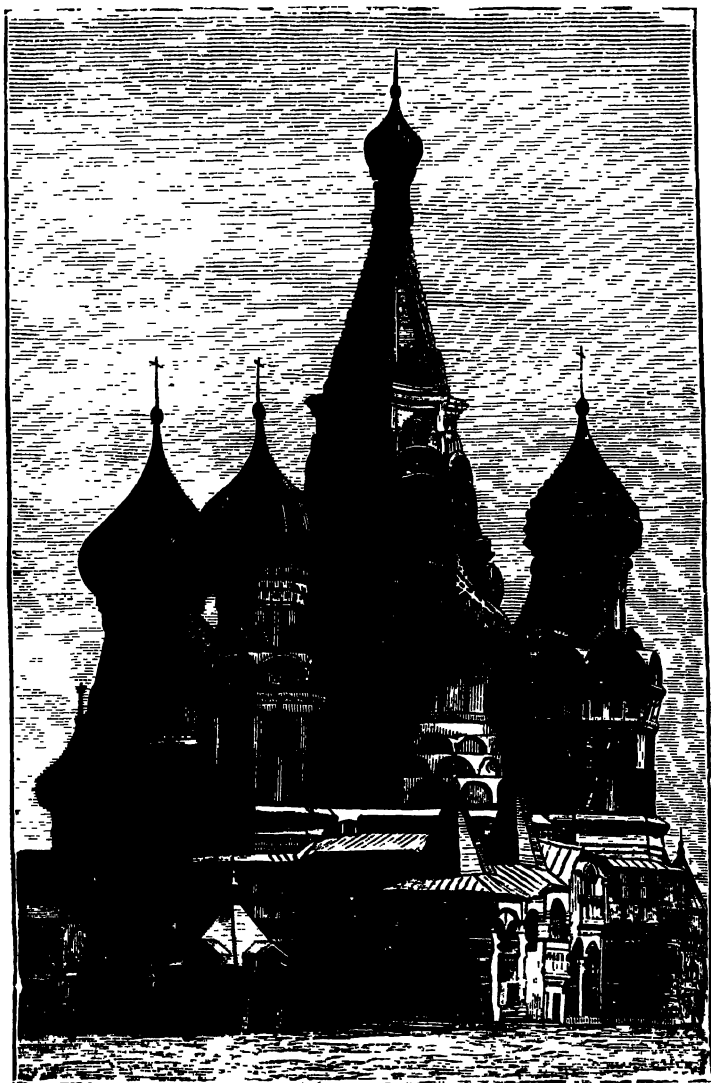
¹ We can only briefly mention the magnificent Kremlin in Moscow in which are united all the elements of the ancient religious life of Russia. "Side by side stand the three cathedrals of the marriages, coronations, and funerals of the Czars. Hard by are the two convents, half palatial, half episcopal. Overhanging all is the double, triple palace of czar and patriarch. Within that palace is a labyrinth of fourteen chapels, multiplied by sovereign after sovereign, till the Imperial residence has been more like the dwelling-place of a pope than of a prince."—Stanley's *Eastern Church*.

² Respecting the adoration of images, Dean Milman wrote: "The ruder the art, the more intense the superstition. . . . There is more direct idolatry paid to the rough and ill-shapen image, or the flat unrelieved and staring picture—the former actually clothed in gaudy and tinsel ornaments, the latter with the crown of gold leaf on the head, and real or artificial flowers in the hand—than to the noblest ideal statue, or the Holy Family with all the magic of light and shade. They are not the fine paintings which work miracles, but the coarse and smoke-darkened boards, on which the dim outline of form is hardly to be traced. Thus it may be said that it was the superstition which required the images, rather than the images which formed the superstition."

of the Roman Church ; on this are placed the gospels, a gilt cross for the congregation to kiss, the box containing the elements of the Eucharist, and a silk handkerchief containing a very special piece of silk or linen about fifteen inches square, having stamped on it a representation of the burial of Christ. This emblem is called an *antimins*, and is essential to the existence of the church, being consecrated by the archbishop of the diocese, and conveying his blessing to the building. A minute portion of some holy relic, anointed with consecrated oil, is fixed on that side of the *antimins* which is turned towards the east. The altar coverings are of special value and symbolical importance ; one complete linen covering, made in the form of a cross, symbolises the linen clothes of the Saviour in His tomb ; another very rich one signifies the glory of God. Within the altar there is another table, on the north side, called the altar of sacrifice, on which are placed the holy vessels, together with a spear, in memory of that which pierced the Saviour's side, which is used for cutting small triangular portions of bread for the sacrament, the spoon for administering the sacrament, etc. The priests even put on their canonicals in the altar, and perform most of the service standing and moving about in it, little heard by the congregation. Infants are baptised and anointed, when the ceremony is not performed in the parents' house, in front of the central doors of the altar. The sacrament is administered at the steps. Confessions are heard, not in an enclosed box, but in corners of the building, face to face. Priests are ordained in the altar ; marriage and burial services take place in the body of the church. The priestly garments include the alb, a kind of frock with loose sleeves, laced cuffs, belt, stole, chasuble, and a special square piece of brocade worn by older priests, hanging from one shoulder (the *epigonation*).

The fasts of the Greek Church are numerous, and far more rigorously kept than in Western Europe. During the whole of Lent every article of food that can be traced to any animal, except fish, is proscribed : and many abstain even from fish. Even milk

Fasts.



CHURCH OF ST. BASIL, MOSCOW.

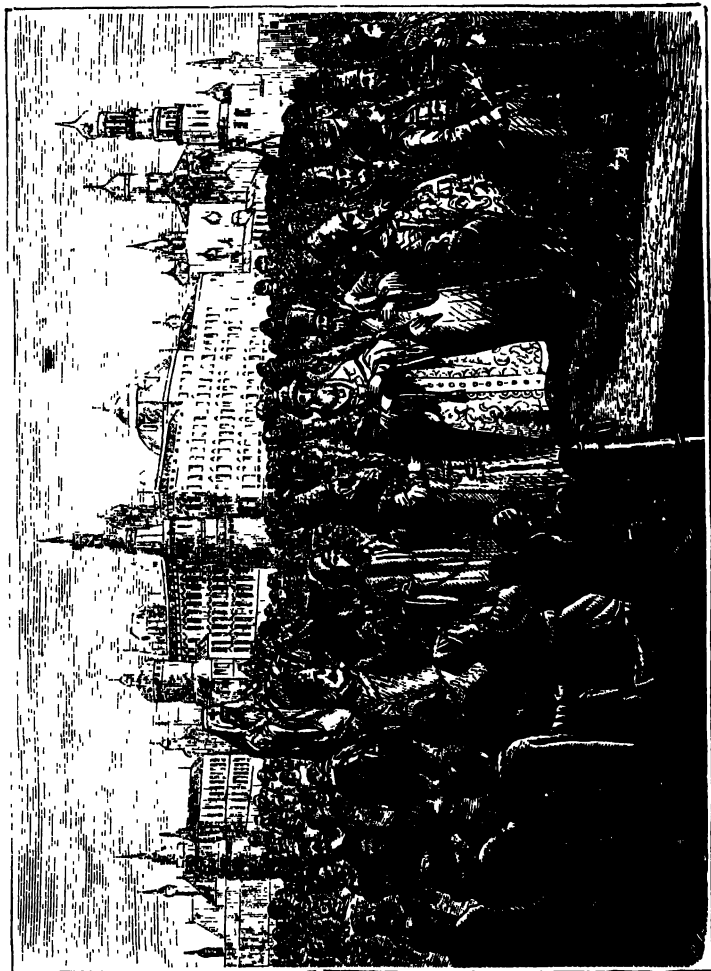
and butter are not used. In the fourth week of Lent special preparation is made for the communion by those who only communicate once or twice a year, and long services, confessions, and special fastings are indulged in.

Yearly communion. All government officials are obliged to attend confession and communion at least once a year, and the marriage ceremony cannot be legally performed if either party has failed to attend communion during the preceding year. There are many crimes and sins which are punished by exclusion from communion from one year to twenty years, such as marrying a second time (one year's exclusion), marrying a third time (four years), overlaying an infant (seven years), fortune-telling (six years), manslaughter (ten years), wilful murder (twenty years), etc. Before the administration of the sacrament, the communicants have to repeat after the priest a special form of creed, which indicates clearly the essential belief of the Greek Church :—

"I believe, Lord, and confess that Thou indeed art Christ, the Son of the living God, who camest into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief. I also believe that this is indeed Thy most pure body, and this Thy holy blood. I therefore pray Thee to have mercy on me, and to forgive me all my sins, voluntary and involuntary, by word, by deed, by knowledge or ignorance; and grant me worthily and blamelessly to partake of Thy most pure Sacrament, for the remission of sins and for life everlasting. Receive me this day, O Son of God, as a partaker of Thy last supper. For not as a secret enemy, I approach, not with the kiss of Judas, but like the thief I confess Thee, 'Lord, remember me in Thy kingdom.' And may the communion of Thy holy sacrament be not to my judgment and condemnation, but to the healing of my soul and body. Amen."

The priest then takes a morsel of the consecrated bread in the spoon, with a little wine, and puts it in the communicant's mouth, with the words, "The servant of God (So-and-so) communicates in the name of the Father," etc.; while the choir sings, "Receive ye the body of Christ; taste ye the fount of everlasting life." The deacon holds a handkerchief under the chin of the communicant to catch any stray drop, and wipes his mouth afterwards. The communicant kisses the edge of the cup, and then goes to a side table and takes a little warm

wine and water as a rinsing, giving an offering according to his means; he then goes to private devotion till all



PALM SUNDAY IN ST. PETERSBURG.

have communicated. The second general communion is during the Assumption Fast, which extends from August

1st to 13th. There are two other fasts: one, the Petroffsky, from Trinity Monday to St. Peter's Day, 29th of June; the other, the Christmas or Philip Fast, from 15th November (St. Philip's Day) to Christmas Day. Wednesdays and Fridays almost throughout the year are also fast days.

The sacrament of extreme unction is administered to adults, followed by confession and communion. It should be performed by seven priests, but one priest may perform it where there are not seven to be found. It may be performed in church, when a person suffers from an incurable disease which does not prevent his leaving the house. The service is very long; the oil (mixed with wine, in remembrance of the Good Samaritan) is specially blessed, and the sick person is anointed, with the sign of the cross, on forehead, nostrils, cheeks, lips, breast, and hands, while a prayer for his recovery is read. This ceremony is gone through seven times, each time by a fresh priest if seven are present, or by turns if there are two or more; the epistles and gospels read differ for each occasion. Mercifully, after so long a service, the confession and communion services which follow are greatly shortened. Later there may be said a unique service termed "A form of prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ and to the most pure Mother of our Lord, at the separation of the soul and body of every orthodox believer." It largely consists of short psalms or their first verses, and other texts of Scripture, with a commendatory prayer in which, however, the Virgin Mary is not mentioned. When the patient is very near death, a saint's picture is placed behind his pillow¹ and a lighted taper at the head of the bed. Violent sobbing and weeping, by both men and women, follow death.

¹ Dean Stanley thus describes the influence of sacred pictures in Russia: "Everywhere, in public and in private, the sacred picture is the consecrating element. In the corner of every room, at the corner of every street, over gateways, in offices, in steamers, in stations, in taverns, is the picture hung, with the lamp burning before it. In domestic life it plays the part of the family Bible, of the wedding gift, of the birthday present, of the ancestral portrait. In

Many interesting details accompany preparation for burial. A crucifix and tall candlesticks are fetched from the church, and priest and deacon perform a requiem twice a day, and a reader with an assistant reads prayers incessantly over the corpse till the day of burial. Visits of condolence are very numerous; alms are distributed to beggars by the well-to-do. The shallow coffin, broad at the head, narrows to the other end, and stands on four little feet. A final requiem is performed in the house on the morning of the funeral, and the body is often put into the coffin then, by the nearest relatives, not by the undertaker or servants. Every friend and member of the family attends the funeral. The relatives kiss and take leave of the deceased at home; the coffin lid is not yet put on, for it is carried in the funeral procession next behind the cross. The priests, singers, etc., precede the coffin, all males bare-headed in the severest frosts. The coffin is taken to church, and mass is said, followed by a very long service, at the end of which the priest places in the deceased's hand a printed prayer, a sort of absolution, in Slavonic, after having read it aloud. Then again mourners, friends, priests, etc., in turn kiss the deceased for the last time. The coffin is carried to the grave, and only then is the lid fixed on the coffin, generally by two pegs. The priest, taking a handful of earth, throws it on the coffin, with the words, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, and the wide world, and they that dwell therein." After a very short chant, and a blessing, all is concluded by each member of the family throwing a handful of earth on the coffin.

Persons of means have evensong, matins and mass performed every day for forty days after a death, and there

the national life it is the watchword, the flag which has supported the courage of generals and roused the patriotism of troops. . . . Enter within any church such as those at Moscow, which best represent the national feeling. There the veneration has reached a pitch which gives an aspect to the whole building unlike any European church. From top to bottom, from side to side, walls and roof and screen and columns are a mass of gilded pictures; not one of any artistic value, but all cast in the same ancient mould."

are special requiems on the ninth, twentieth, and fortieth days at the grave. On the last occasion the funeral proceedings are almost entirely repeated. Requiems are again performed on the name-day and anniversary of the death; but requiems are not performed at all for little children before the age for confession. As a fee to priests, deacons, etc., accompanies each of the celebrations, which are only a type of many more, it will be seen how interested they must be in keeping up the formal ceremonies of the Church, and how full their lives are of professional routine.

In Russia the Czar is the real head of the Church, and his personality is most sacred. At his coronation, preceded by fasting and seclusion, he first recites **The Czar's position.** the confession of the faith of the Church, then offers up the prayer of intercession for the empire, places the crown on his own head, and then enters the sanctuary and himself takes from the altar the sacred elements, and communicates with bishops and clergy. This takes place in the patriarchal cathedral, the church of the Assumption or Repose of the Virgin, crowded with the most sacred pictures in Russia, the burial-place of the primates (see p. 311).

Yet in Russia there are millions of dissenters from the Orthodox Church.¹ These Raskolinks, or Separatists, to some extent date from earlier times, but were **Dissenters.** most largely reinforced in the time of Nikon, by antagonism to all his innovations. The most numerous body of them, the Staroviertz, or Old Believers, regard themselves as the really orthodox, who follow the Bible and acknowledge only the early councils. They **The Old Believers.** re-baptise their converts from the State Church, which they regard as the Babylon of the Revelation; and it is essential that they should repudiate the heresies of Nikon, especially his form of benediction with three fingers instead of two. They restore the word "holy" in the Nicene Creed, before the description of the "Lord and Giver of life," and maintain the unauthentic expression,

¹ See "The Sects of the Russian Church," *North British Review*, vol. liii.

"one baptism *by fire* for the remission of sins." They reverence the patriarchal cathedral at Moscow, which contains the icon of no saint later than Nikon, and once a year many of them come to gaze on it at Easter. Many of them still receive ordained priests from the State Church, while otherwise excluding all innovations. The greater number of the conservative dissenters live along the Volga and the Don. The total number of the Staroviertz may be several millions, and they far outnumber all the other sects, who may be counted by hundreds.

Some sects of dissenters have no ordained priests, and their members only conduct services so far as they can be carried without an altar and a priest. They still possess a few drops of ancient consecrated Other sects. oil and eucharistic elements. It is disputed whether they should be regarded as the extreme wing of the Old Believers; but they themselves reject the latter, as well as the Orthodox Church, as Antichrist. A number of the sects are extremely ascetic. One is known as the Skopzi, or Eunuchs, who believe that Christ took the form of the Czar Peter III., was a member of their sect, and has never died, but will one day return and will reign over them. They disbelieve in the resurrection of the body, meet secretly on Saturday nights, and keep Easter as their only festival, by eating bread consecrated by having been buried in the grave of one of their apostles. They believe that God has revealed Himself in Christ, who was not Himself God, and that He also reveals Himself continually as the Holy Ghost in themselves, who are the true Christians. One peculiar sect, the Dumb, become speechless on conversion, but retain their other habits, though they refuse the sacraments. There are other sects named Flagellants and Self-Burners.

The spiritual or spiritualistic sects are also numerous. Many conform outwardly to the orthodox worship, but really care nothing for its forms and ceremonies. The The Sabbatniki, who keep Saturday instead of Sabbatniki. Sunday, regard the Mosaic law as the sole Divine revelation, consider Christ as only a divinely inspired prophet, and look for a Messiah to come. The Duchoborzi and

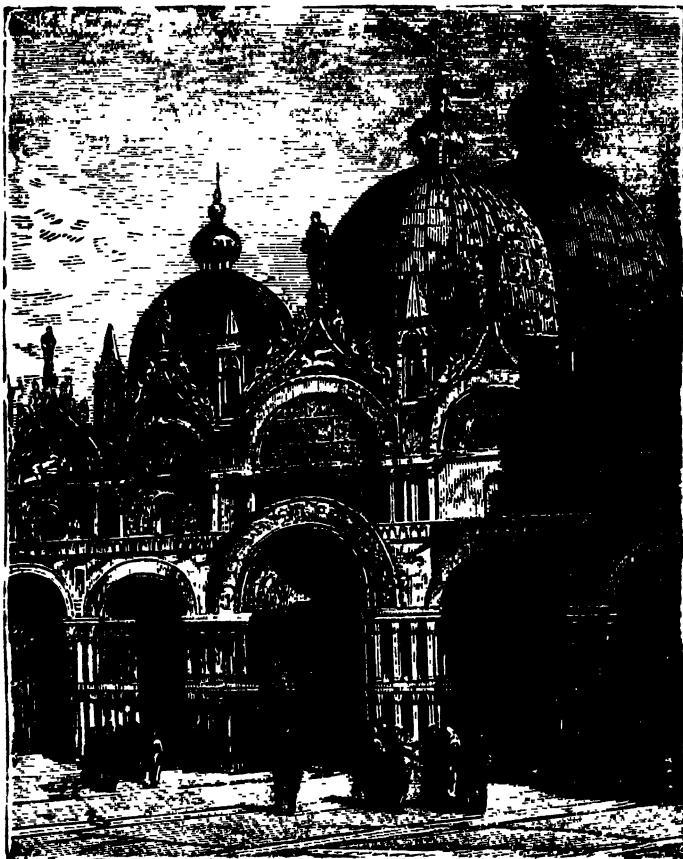
Molokani sprang from a common stock, but are now at variance. The name Duchoborzi means warriors **Molokani** for the light or Spirit; that of the Molokani signifies milk-consumers, from their taking milk on fast days. "The Molokani," says Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, in his "Russia," "take as their model the early Apostolic Church, as depicted in the New Testament, and uncompromisingly reject all later authorities. They have no hierarchy, and no paid clergy, but choose from among themselves a presbyter and two assistants, men well known among the brethren for their exemplary life and their knowledge of the Scriptures, whose duty it is to watch over the religious and moral welfare of the flock. On Sundays they hold meetings in private houses, and spend two or three hours in psalm-singing, prayer, reading the Scriptures, and friendly conversation on religious subjects." Severe moral supervision is exercised over the members, who, however, mutually assist one another in a most praiseworthy manner. They baptise their children, but only as a symbolical cleansing, have no confirmation, and although they celebrate the communion in memory of Christ, do not require participation in it. Penance, marriage, and extreme unction are not counted sacraments.

The Duchoborzi The Duchoborzi have tenets much more speculative and mystic than the Molokani, which we have not space to detail. They recognise neither priesthood nor sacraments, keep neither Sundays nor festivals, but meet on fixed days for very simple prayer and worship. They have a strong tendency towards socialism, and are reputed to be very moral, and admirable in their family relations.

There are other sects in which nervous excitement is the main phenomenon of religion; but as these add very little to our ideas about religion beyond showing how in advanced communities we may meet with the characteristics of lower religious grades, we do not detail their practices. Some other sects, such as the Mennonites, who are widely distributed in other countries besides Russia, are truly Protestants, and we therefore do not mention them here.

We have already referred to the monasteries and black clergy of Russia. Those of Greece follow the same rule, that of St. Basil, the monks performing all the chief occupations between them. The most ^{Mount Athos.} celebrated monasteries of the Eastern Church are, however, those of Mount Athos, or the Holy Mountain, some of which were founded in the time of Constantine. Each nation professing the orthodox faith is represented by one or more monasteries of its own, twenty in all, and to it come pilgrims from all "orthodox" Eastern Churches. The mountain is almost selfgoverned, by twenty deputies, one from each convent, and four presidents, changed every year. Only a small number of the monks are in holy orders, the rest being lay monks. Ten of the monasteries are *cœnobite*, all members living in common. Nearly half the days in the year are fast days, on which only one meal is taken, of bread, vegetables, and water. The abbot, chosen for life, governs the *cœnobites*; but the other monasteries are administered by two or three wardens elected annually, and each member adds to the common fare what he can afford to buy. There are also many places of ascetic retirement on the mountain, every nook being either occupied by a hermitage or a small chapel. The services in the convent churches last six or seven hours a day, while on great festivals and fasts they occupy twelve hours or more. The entire number of monks on Mount Athos is about 3000.





ST. MARK'S, VENICE.
(Mainly Byzantine in style)

CHAPTER IX.

The Roman Church in the

Hildebrand—Leo IX—The College of Cardinals—Hildebrand made Pope Gregory VII.—The Dictate—Henry IV. at Canossa—Concordat of Worms—First Lateran Council—Lanfranc and Anselm—Second and Third Lateran Councils—Pope Innocent III.—Fourth Lateran Council—Transubstantiation and Confession—Saint Louis—Second Council of Lyons—Pope Boniface VIII—The Bull "Unam Sanctam"—The Babylonian Cap-

tivity at Avignon—Heresy of John XXII.—The “beatific vision”—Rival Popes—John Gerson—Council of Pisa—Dawn of the Reformation—The dispensing power—Papal legates—Power of the keys—Penance—Indulgences—Supererogation—Relics as charms—Pilgrimages—Miracles—Mariolatry—The “real presence”—Elevation and adoration of the Host—Noble Christian works—Scholastic Theology—Abelard—Thomas Aquinas—Duns Scotus—Roger Bacon—William Durand—William of Occam—Degeneracy of Monasticism—Cluniac congregation—Carthusians and Cistercians—Hospitaliers—Brethren of St. John—The Templars—Carmelites—Mathurins—Order of Mercy—St. Dominic—The Dominicans—St. Francis of Assisi—St. Clara—The Franciscans or Minorites—The Sacred Stigmata—Bonaventura—Corruptions—The Spirituals—Millennial Prophecy—The Fraticelli—Conventuals and Observants—The Minims—Béguines and Beghards.

FROM the tenth century onward there were many important events in Church history, but they were largely of a political nature, concerned with the control the Church sought to exercise over Hildebrand. princes and States. The first great name is that of Hildebrand (afterwards Pope Gregory VII.), born in Italy early in the eleventh century, becoming a monk of Clugny, in France, and thence developing the policy of the subserviency of the State to the Church. He was at first the chief minister of Pope Leo IX., who held a council of French bishops in 1049, at Rheims, which acknowledged him as apostolic pontiff and primate of the whole Church, and accepted the false Isidorian decretals as Church law. Leo carried his assertion of Church power and rights very far; but Hildebrand, as the active spirit under several succeeding Popes, in 1061 greatly reduced the Emperor's influence in the choice of a Pope by the establishment of the elective body at Rome, afterwards so well known as the *College of Cardinals*. The cardinals, or chief bishops and clergy, had been so named, even in Gregory the Great's time; and in Rome the title was applied to the priests of the parish churches. They were the cardinal priests, to whom were added the cardinal bishops (seven) of the Pope's own province, who assisted at St. Peter's. The cardinal bishops were appointed to consult together about an election, and then consult the cardinal priests; and the Emperor's right of confirming the election was recognised in a very qualified manner, as a grant given him personally by the Apostolic See.

Hildebrand became Pope in 1073, and at once asserted boldly the Church's independence of all outside control,



POPE GREGORY VII. (HILDEBRAND).

her sovereignty over all worldly powers, as well as the rule of the Papacy over the whole Church. In the "Dictate"

which represents his attitude, it is affirmed that "the Roman pontiff alone is universal bishop. To **Hildebrand** him alone it belongs to depose or to reconcile **made Pope** bishops; and he may depose them in their **Gregory VII.** absence, and without the concurrence of a synod. He alone is entitled to frame new laws for the Church—to divide or unite bishoprics, or translate bishops. He alone may use the insignia of empire; all **The Dictate.** princes are bound to kiss his feet; he has the right to depose Emperors, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance. His power supersedes the diocesan authority of bishops. He may revise all judgments, and from his sentence there is no appeal. All appeals to him must be respected, and to him the greater causes of every Church must be referred. No Council may be styled General without his command. The Roman Church never has erred, and as Scripture testifies, never will err. The Pope is above all judgment, and by the merits of St. Peter, is undoubtedly rendered holy."

Gregory exerted himself vigorously to put down simony and enforce celibacy among the clergy. He was successful in putting down the Emperor's right to confer **Henry IV. at** investiture on bishops; and he had the triumph **Canossa.** of seeing the Emperor Henry IV. at Canossa, waiting three days, barefooted, in an open court, in winter (Jan. 1077), to tender his submission to him. Gregory died (1085) after excommunicating the Emperor and the anti-pope Clement III., whom he had set up. The next Popes made the Crusades turn to their advantage in enforcing their high claims; and the clergy generally gained renewed hold on nobles and people by the vows and penances laid on them. *The Concordat of Worms* (1122), **Concordat of** between Pope Calixtus II. and the Emperor **Worms.** Henry V., was a compromise which gave the real victory to the Papacy, while allowing prelates to receive their temporalities from the Emperor. The pact **First Lateran** was confirmed by the first Lateran Council **Council.** (ninth œcumenical of the Romans), 1123.

In England Lanfranc supported William I. in his resistance to Roman encroachment; but Anselm, an Italian

like Lanfranc, who succeeded him as Abbot of Bec, in Lanfranc and Normandy, and afterwards as Archbishop of Anselm. Canterbury (1093), maintained and secured the



HENRY IV. IN THE COURTYARD AT CANOSSA.

full Papal claims, although he had to leave to Henry I. his power of nominating bishops and his feudal rights

over the clergy. In power of thought Anselm was almost a second Augustine, and has been termed the founder of natural theology. He held that belief must precede knowledge, and that the truth concerning God is the foundation and end of all knowledge. His "Proslogion," with the motto, "Faith seeking Understanding," sought to demonstrate the existence of God from the following thesis: "God is that than which none greater can be conceived; and he who well understands this will understand that the Divine Being exists in such a manner that His non-existence cannot even be conceived." His "Cur Deus Homo?" is a treatise of fundamental importance on the question of the Incarnation. His "Meditations" and "Letters" show sympathy, fervour, and humble faith. He died in 1109. He is by some termed the founder of Scholastic Theology, by others the founder of modern Systematic Theology.

We must only briefly note some of the further stages in the progress and decline of the Papal supremacy. The Second Lateran Council (1139), among other acts, condemned Arnold of Brescia, who preached in favour of a spiritual Church, maintained only by spiritual means, and hence advocated the confiscation of the wealth of the Church. Pope Alexander III. (1159-1181), in rivalry with successive anti-popes, showed great art and patience in carrying out the views which Hildebrand had enforced more violently. In alliance with him, Thomas Becket subdued Henry II., of England, to the Roman claims. The Third Lateran Council (1179) settled that the election of Popes was to be entirely in the hands of the cardinals, to whom were added certain officials among the Roman clergy. Two-thirds of the votes were required for an election. This council was the first which sanctioned crusades against heretics, the Albigenses, and others. (See next chapter.)

Pope Innocent III., elected in 1198, carried the Papal power to its highest elevation. He was extraordinarily skilful in adapting or quoting Scripture to support any of his pretensions. In his books "On

Second
Lateran
Council

Third Lateran
Council

III.

the Sacred Mystery of the Altar" he took the highest ground as to the superiority of St. Peter and his successors at Rome over all the Apostles and bishops. Privately he was bountiful, magnanimous, hot-tempered, but easily appeased, a lover of poetry and music; publicly, though he affected extravagant humility, he upheld the sternest and proudest claims ever put forward in the Papacy. Over the rulers as well as Churches of Germany, England, France, Spain, and other countries he successfully asserted unlimited supremacy. Even the Armenian Church entered into communication with Rome, and its patriarch accepted a bull from Innocent, and agreed to take part in Papal councils. The fifth crusade (1199) led to the capture of Constantinople, and setting up of a Latin Empire there, which, however, only increased the hostility between the Greek and Roman Churches. He encouraged the military orders, which added to the dominions of Christianity, the crusade against heretics, and the foundation of the mendicant orders. He not only endorsed the putting down of heresy by persecution and even death, but was so illiberal as to forbid the use of vernacular translations of the Scriptures by the laity, and to order them to be burnt. It had been found that the people, when they read the plain teaching of the Bible, readily pointed it against the pretensions, the luxury, and the corruption of the clergy, and hence such reading was found dangerous.

In 1215 Innocent held the Fourth Lateran Council, which included in its 2283 members the (nominal) Patriarch of Jerusalem and claimants of the (Latin) patriarchate of Constantinople. This council, besides supporting the highest Papal claims, formally declared the doctrine of Transubstantiation, affirming that the body and blood of Christ are truly contained in the sacrament under the outward appearance of bread and wine, their very substance being changed by the power of God through the instrumentality of a priest duly ordained. The Council also fully sanctioned auricular confession, and made it obligatory on every Catholic to confess to his own parish priest at least once a year. Innocent died in 1216.

**Fourth
Lateran
Council.**

**Transubstan-
tiation and
Confession.**

Gregory IX. (1227-1241) and Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) were great popes who, with varying success, upheld the ideal of Innocent; but Louis IX. of France (1226-1270), who, though a layman, was canonised, and has received from Voltaire the testimony, "It is not given to man to carry virtue to a higher point," successfully asserted the liberties of the Gallic Church, and that "the king of France holdeth of no one save God and himself." His famous "Pragmatic¹ Sanction" (1269) forbade exactions by the pope, unless sanctioned by the king and the Gallic Church, and asserted the rights of Churches to elect their own bishops, and of patrons to exercise their patronage, without papal interference. He drove out the Jews and forbade usury, but did not confiscate their property. Though he believed heresy should be put down by the sword, he had no part in the cruelties practised in Languedoc. Gregory X., pope from 1271 to 1276, endeavoured to unite the Eastern and Western Churches at the Second Council of Lyons (1274), which was attended by ambassadors from Michael Palcologus, the Greek Emperor then seated at Constantinople. They agreed on his behalf to the Roman doctrines and ceremonies, accepted the primacy of the pope, and chanted the Nicene Creed with the "Filioque" article; but all this was fruitless in producing a formal or real union. The Council also established a fixed rule for the papal election by the assembly of cardinals, who were to be shut up in one room (*conclave*, a room under lock and key), each with one attendant, and confined until the election was made.

Benedict Gaetani, who as pope took the title Boniface VIII., was a learned but arrogant and passionate prelate, who by a succession of "Bulls" reasserted the highest claims of the papacy. His famous Bull, entitled, from its first words, "Unam Sanctam," asserted the unity of the Church under one head, the Vicar of Christ, wielding

Saint Louis.

Second Council of Lyons.

Pope Boniface VIII.

The Bull "Unam Sanctam."

¹ The term "pragmatic" signified an edict issued after consultation (*pragma*) with the king's counsellors.



**ST. LOUIS DEPOSITING IN THE SAINTE CHAPELLE AT PARIS THE RELICS BROUGHT
FROM THE EAST.**

the "two swords" which Christ declared to be "enough," namely the spiritual and the temporal; and that the temporal power is to be subject to the spiritual. The Bull concluded with the declaration that "it is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff!" This extreme straining of the papal power was the precursor of its declension, and of the long "Babylonian captivity" which followed (1304-1378), during which the popes were seated, not at Rome, but at Avignon, and the papal court was practically in subjection to France. One of the popes of this time, John XXII. (1316-1334), incurred a charge of heresy on a new ground in our subject, the doctrine of the intermediate state between death and the resurrection. He held with several early Fathers, that the souls of the righteous do not see God or attain perfect bliss till after the resurrection of the body; and he was reported to have said that the Virgin Mary could only behold the humanity, not the divinity, of her Son, until the end of this dispensation. The Paris theological faculty gave a decision on this point which stated that the souls of the faithful dead (on their release from purgatory, if they needed purgation) are caught up to the "beatific vision" of the Trinity, and perfectly enjoy the Blessed Deity. While this was being discussed, the pope died, at the age of 90 (1334). The return of the pope to Rome in 1377, at the entreaty of St. Catherine of Siena, was followed by the great papal schism (1378-1417), during which rival popes at Rome and Avignon divided the allegiance of the faithful. Gross evils increased in the papacy and hierarchy, and already the Reformation was dawning in the persons of Wyclif, Jerome of Prague, and John Huss. The famous John Gerson in 1404-9 contributed to settle the schism by suggesting that when there were rival popes, the Church, by the cardinals or even by faithful laymen, might resume the power to call a general Council to settle the difficulty; and he greatly lowered the papal claims. The council, which met at Pisa

in 1409, deposed both popes, and thus struck vitally at the Council of the papal authority by asserting that a general Council of Pisa. Council was superior to the papacy. But while the two deposed popes continued to act, the new pope, Alexander V., lavished offices on the Franciscans, and gave the mendicant orders the right to hear confessions and administer the sacraments independently of bishops and parish priests. The accession of John Dawn of the Reformation. XXIII. in 1410, followed by the Council of Constance in 1414, at which John Huss was condemned, brings in the period of the Reformation.

We have sufficiently indicated the growth of the papal and priestly claims, together with the wealth of the Church. Perhaps the most injurious action of dispensing the papacy in reference to the welfare of mankind was in its assumption of the "dispensing power," as it was termed, by which the pope not only granted indemnity for past offences, but even for future ones. The marriage laws and the sacredness of oaths were thus placed at the mercy of a man who too often showed himself venal. And when the papal legates in various countries usurped the papal functions, and acted as autocrats wherever they went, it is not wonderful that the people revolted. In the letters of St. Bernard we find such pictures as these: "Your legate Papal legates. has passed from nation to nation, everywhere leaving foul and horrible traces among us. . . . He is reported everywhere to have committed disgraceful deeds, to have carried off the spoils of the Church, to have advanced pretty little boys to ecclesiastical honours. . . . Many have bought themselves off, that he might not come to them; those whom he could not visit, he taxed and squeezed by his messengers." The Roman court became full of rich prelates and priests, whose worldliness and evil practices were worse than the worst things recorded of the Pharisees. The superstition of the people, especially the rich, led them to give or bequeath their property to the Church, either in remorse for their misdeeds, or to secure benefits in the world to come. The crusades, about which we cannot speak in

detail, ministered to this increase of wealth; for the Church often bought lands at a low price from crusaders in want of money. Tithes on land were paid for Church purposes from the eighth century onwards, and were also largely paid on the earnings of trades and professions. Pluralities became frequent, and the holders lived in state at courts; and there were many clergy occupied as the chaplains of great men, who rejected the discipline of bishops, and contributed to bring the Church into ill repute. The people came to despise the regular clergy for the most part, and to accept only the ministrations of the monks, and later of the mendicant orders. The Scriptures were little studied, though copies were highly valued, and the people knew more of the lives of the saints than of the Bible. One of the chief sources of popular religious knowledge was the performance of Miracle-plays or Mysteries.

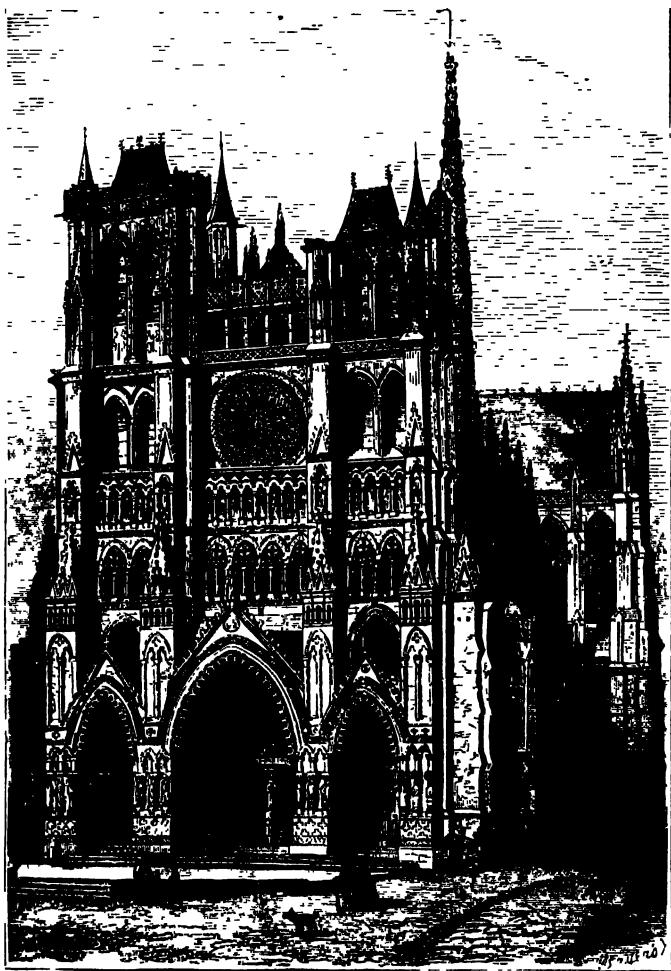
Sacramentalism of the mechanical sort became a substitute for heart-felt religion. The prescription of auricular confession, at least once a year, threw enormous **Power of the** power into the priests' hands. Previously to **Keys.** the thirteenth century, the form of absolution had been in the form of a prayer, which marked that the power of forgiveness belonged to God alone; but the change from "May God grant thee absolution and remission," to "I absolve thee," made all the difference in the influence of the priest on the mind of the person confessing; and this was further increased by the doctrine that remission was given, in spite of any evil in the priest. The power of imposing penances as satisfaction for **Penance.** sin, in addition to the merits of Christ, and the Church's absolution, gave rise to vast abuses. Penalties, beneficial, burdensome, or trivial, were imposed at the will of the priest, and correspondingly relieved the mind of the sinner. Pilgrimages, gifts, the founding of churches and monasteries, fasts, flagellation, and various forms of self-mortification, were among the penalties thus imposed. But perhaps the worst form which the priestly **Indulgences.** power took was the granting of indulgences, at first for specific offences, but afterwards for all sins, in

consideration of special services or gifts to the Church. Gregory VII. in 1080 promised plenary indulgence for all sins to those who supported Henry IV.'s rival, Rudolf; and Urban II., in 1095, granted the same to all who should join the First Crusade. The idea that priests could remit penalties, not only in this world, but in the world to come, grew apace, and brought back or condoned a state of things which began to rival the worst state of heathen Rome. And beyond even the granting of indulgences, there grew up a theory that the Church could grant to deserving penitents some of the merits accumulated by the sufferings and good deeds of the faithful, and of Christ Himself. The scholastic divines, of whom

Super-erogation. we shall presently speak, elaborated this into the "Treasury of Supererogation," on which the Church could draw, in virtue of the power of the keys, not only for the benefit of the living, but also of the dead in purgatory; though they laid most stress on the merits of Christ Himself as availing in this respect. As to purgatory (or the state of those who die imperfect Christians), the sufferings of the departed therein were held to be mitigable by the faith and the prayers of their living friends and of the Church; and the prayers of the latter were largely secured by payments and works of charity or of value to the Church. Indulgences were granted for limited periods and on very slight proof of penitence by many monks and mendicant friars, and the Dominicans introduced the use of the rosary, a string of beads for counting the number of prayers, the recitation of a fixed number sufficing to procure an indulgence. The open sale of indulgences, followed by the increase of impostors who assumed the garb of mendicant friars, and offered the pardon of all sins for the merest trifle, while by their clever talking they deceived the ignorant, at length proved to be one of the most powerful influences which started the Reformation. The sale of

Relics as charms. relics, often supposed to be brought back from the Holy Land, attained large proportions, and **Pilgrimages.** supplied the masses with charms supposed to ward off or cure diseases and protect from other evils.

Pilgrimages, not merely to Palestine, but to Rome, or to



AMIENS CATHEDRAL (1220).

famous shrines, such as that of St. James at Compostella

in Spain, were a common mode of atoning for crimes, or obtaining plenary indulgences; but not infrequently these vows, made in danger or illness, were commuted, for money payments, in favour of less onerous ones. At the shrines of the saints, many miracles were reported and believed to be performed on the sick who waited and prayed. It would be fruitless to detail the long list of marvellous phenomena reported to have been displayed by sacred pictures and statues, miraculous appearances, and phenomena of bleeding wounds, stigmata, etc., produced on believers. Mental impressions, hysterical imaginings, credulity, and deceit, all combined to render the belief in such phenomena almost universal. Thus it was natural that the worship before such pictures and statues as were reputed miraculous, should in many cases become indistinguishable from worship of the pictures and statues themselves; and that the saints represented by them, or the patron saints of churches and places, should be regarded almost as divine.

Every exaltation of the saints was reflected in a further exaltation of the honour paid to the Virgin Mary. The use of the term "Mother of God" (see pp. 265, *Mariolatry*. 283) powerfully promoted the tendency to pray to her as a female mediator, and festivals in her honour were multiplied. The "Annunciation" festival, popularly "Lady Day," was established probably in the fifth century; then followed the Nativity of the Virgin (Sept. 8). Instead of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Mary's "Purification" was celebrated, and still later her imagined "Presentation," or dedication to the Temple service, was kept as a festival. It was conjectured in the fourth and fifth centuries that she had never died, and in 813, at the Council of Mainz, the "Assumption" of the Virgin was instituted as a festival. One order after another of monks took her for their patron saint. Preachers vied with one another in extolling her merits, and exciting the people to worship her. She was described as "the Queen of Heaven," and the language of the Song of Solomon was freely applied to her. The scheme of

creation and redemption by Christ was brought about "through her, and in her, and of her, and with her," so that "as without Him nothing was made, so without her nothing should be made." The Assumption is described as "that sublime day on which the royal Virgin was carried to the throne of God the Father, and enthroned on the very seat of the Trinity." Her mediation was represented as all-powerful, and even authoritative. "Thou approachest to that golden altar of man's reconciliation, not only asking, but commanding." So preached Peter Damiani, the great friend of Pope Gregory VII. And St. Bernard says that "God has willed that we should have all things through Mary. . . . Have recourse to Mary. He will hear her as a son his mother, and the Father will hear the Son;" and a new technical term was invented to signify the adoration that might be paid to her. The monasteries and the churches generally adopted special forms of service in her honour, and to pray for her intercession and help, known as the "Office of St. Mary." Saturday was a special day for masses in her honour; and in 1095 Urban II., at the Council of Clermont, appointed her "Hours" to be said daily, and her "Office" on Saturdays. The Salutation of the angel to her, "Ave Maria," was repeated continually, and was gradually expanded in later centuries to its present form. The Dominicans brought in the use of the rosary, for counting by means of beads the number of "aves" recited with prayers for the Virgin's intercession in the hour of death. The rosary of 150 beads was divided into sets of ten; each bead passed signified an "ave" recited, and after every ten "aves" the Lord's Prayer ("Pater Noster") was said: the whole concluded with the Creed ("Credo"). The thirteenth century produced the "Marian Psalter," lesser and greater, in which the Psalms and Scriptures generally were adapted to express the perfection of the Virgin. Thus, "The Lord said to our Lady, Sit, Mother, on My right hand . . . thou shalt reign with Me for ever." As early as the sixth century she had been regarded as free from actual sin, though not from "original sin." About the end of

the thirteenth century it was proposed to establish a festival of her "Conception" as being holy and sinless; but St. Bernard strongly censured this, though he says that "beyond all doubt the Mother of the Lord was holy before she was born." The University of Paris declared the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin a probable opinion in 1387; but it was reserved for the present century to see this elevated into an article of faith, when in 1854 Pope Pius IX. declared dogmatically that the Virgin had been conceived immaculately, and was absolutely exempt from both original and actual sin, and that to contradict this is heresy.

We have already noted the enunciation of the doctrine of the "real presence" and of "transubstantiation" in the Eucharist, and cannot here note all the stages and forms which the discussion assumed, especially in connection with Berengarius of Tours, in the eleventh century, and his followers. When the doctrine had been finally settled by Thomas Aquinas in its materialistic form, greater sanctity attached to the elements of the Eucharist. Infant communion became less frequent, and was at last discontinued. Special precautions were taken against spilling or profaning in any way the wine changed into the very blood of Christ; and in the twelfth century the withholding of the cup entirely from the laity began, justified by such a principle as that of Anselm, "that the whole Christ is taken in either kind," and gradually this became the rule. In the eleventh century the elevation of the consecrated bread as the "Host," after consecration, was introduced; and after the Lateran decree, in 1215, this act was the signal for "adoration" of the present Christ, and all persons were bidden to kneel before it, whether in church or when it was carried to sick persons through the streets. Finally a special festival in honour of the Consecrated Host (Corpus Christi) was instituted, in 1264. The reverence and mystery attaching to the Sacrament caused the laity to communicate less frequently, and it became sufficient to communicate once a year; while masses said by the priests, for money payments,

were supposed to be efficacious, whether the persons paying were present or not.

Yet we must do justice to the piety that lived in these ages, to the noble works that many Christians then achieved in the founding of hospitals, in service to the poor, in the foundation of colleges and schools, and in the erection of magnificent monastic and ecclesiastical buildings. To these ages we owe our finest churches, in the successive styles of Gothic architecture—Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular—which it is the despair of modern architects to rival. Art took refuge in the monasteries, and produced statuary and carving in profusion, not deeming it profane to decorate churches with subjects of a secular nature. Stained glass, illuminated manuscripts, embroidered vestments and altar cloths, testify to the growing appreciation of art, zeal in artistic work, and consecration of it to divine service. No one should imagine that because some of the forms it took are not such as we appreciate, and many Churchmen of the middle ages were corrupt, that therefore piety was extinct or less real than in early or later days. Good men achieved marvels then as now, in spite of their imperfections and the corruption by which they were surrounded.

The steps by which the Scholastic Theology was developed and connected with Arabian and Aristotelian learning would demand a lengthy recital: we can but note that medieval theologians based their systems very largely upon Aristotelian logic. The controversies of the Nominalists and Realists, of the Thomists (disciples of Thomas Aquinas) and Scotists (followers of Duns Scotus), if of minor interest now, were both necessary stages in the evolution of the present, and of great importance in their time. Somehow a deficiency was felt in the old presentations of doctrine, and it was sought to re-dress theology in a scientific logical form, granting the authority of Scripture and of the general councils. Peter Abelard (1079–1142), whose renown did much to promote the growth of the University of Paris, was the first great rationalist

**Noble
Christian
works.**

**Scholastic
Theology.**

Abelard.

theologian, teaching "that nothing could be believed unless it was first understood, and that it was ridiculous for any one to preach to others that which neither he himself, nor those whom he taught, comprehended." His "Introduction to Theology" caused him to be denounced as a tritheist, and he had to stand alone against varied types of holy men, such as Roscellin, Norbert, and Bernard of Clairvaux. All through his theological teaching he called in question received opinions, without desiring to be unorthodox. He made a collection of 158 controverted questions, with the varied opinions of theologians contrasted and set opposite one another under the headings *Sic et non*. As a destructive critic his tendencies were rightly censured by the Church from its own point of view; but his teaching had considerable germinal influence, though overlaid by the more powerful orthodoxy of Thomas Aquinas.

The Schoolmen, properly so called, were the unflinching advocates of orthodox faith, and at the same time devoted to its reconciliation with or explanation by reasoning. Briefly noting the priors of the abbey of St. Victor, outside Paris, in the twelfth century, with their mottoes, "We can only know God by loving Him," and "You have just as much power as you have grace"; John of Salisbury; Peter Lombard (died 1164), author of *Four Books of "Sentences,"* containing the teachings of the Latin Fathers, arranged so as to support the dogmas of the Church, which became a text-book of theology for three centuries; Alexander Hales (died 1245), surnamed "the Irrefragable Doctor," author of a complete *Summary of Theology*; and Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), "the Universal Doctor," who wrote 21 folio volumes which survive, besides many that are lost, and taught a kind of eclectic philosophy; we come to Thomas Aquinas (1226-1274), the prince of scholastics, whose teaching has by Pope Leo XIII. been declared to represent most perfectly the mind of the Church, and is still mastered by all who pretend to theological learning in the Roman communion. He was a son of a count of Aquino in Apulia, Italy, and at the age of sixteen, having

already shown extraordinary ability, entered the Dominican order. After pupilage under Albert the Great, he was, in his twenty-third year, appointed second professor in the Dominican school at Cologne, and in 1257 was inducted into a theological chair at Paris; afterwards, at the pope's command, lecturing through several universities of Italy, advising the pope on difficult questions, and writing continually, at last settling at Naples, dying

early of his asceticism and immense intellectual activity. His "*Summa Theologica*" is an encyclopædia of divinity, discussing the arguments for the existence of God, the Divine nature and attributes, the Trinity, the end and nature of man, virtues and vices, the Incarnation of Christ, the Sacraments, etc. Its plan is to present for discussion some question or proposition, to state as strongly as possible the arguments urged for a wrong solution, and then to give the orthodox decision and the authorities or reasons for it, from the

Bible, the Fathers, Aristotle, etc. Every imaginable discussion is gone through concerning all the terms, such as essence, spirit, personality, substance, etc.; and the whole is an astonishing feat of logic. In fact, it sums up all the knowledge and thought about the universe which had then been attained. He also wrote voluminous commentaries on Aristotle, on large portions of the Bible, treatises against all kinds of errors and heresies, and against the



ST. THOMAS AQUINAS.

Greek Church, tracts in favour of the monastic life, etc. He was known as "the Angelic Doctor," and was canonised by John XXII. in 1323.

Yet there were many who dissented from Aquinas on numerous points, and the Franciscans in particular followed Duns Scotus, the "Subtle Doctor," a British member of their order (1274-1308), many of whose works were written in answer to Aquinas. He taught at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne, where he died. He followed Plato in many points, was accused of being a semi-Pelagian, and was a supporter of the growing dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. He has been termed "the acutest and most penetrating spirit of the middle ages." Milman calls him "an Aristotelian beyond Aristotle, a Platonist beyond Plato; at the same time the most orthodox of theologians."

How insufficient the systems of the Schoolmen were to settle everything upon heaven and earth had already been discovered by the great Franciscan, Roger Bacon (1214-1294), who besides his wonderful researches in physical science was no mean theologian, and in 1292 wrote a compendium of theology, in which he exposed the prevalent lack of study of the Scriptures, and the too great use of philosophy in discussing theology, and the neglect of practical studies, such as languages, mathematics, and physical sciences, most calculated to aid theological studies. He discouraged the high methods of scholastic theology, while he pointed out that many things most conducive to salvation were easy to be understood, and that a simple friar who had not heard a hundred lectures on theology, and had not cared for them if he had, yet preached incomparably better than the greatest masters of theology.

A man of a different type was a Dominican, William Durand, a professor at Paris and Avignon early in the fourteenth century, who boldly settled any question, and not infrequently tended to heresy. Thus he showed that it was an early opinion that the sacraments have no inherent power of giving grace; but that the recipient receives grace from God, unless he

interposes an obstacle. William of Occam, or Ockham, in Surrey, a Franciscan and a pupil of Duns ^{William of} Scotus, took the novel side for an ecclesiastic, ^{Occam.} of supporting the rights of kings against the pope, to whom he denied any authority in secular affairs, after the example of Christ. In discussing the central doctrines of the Church, he guarded his orthodoxy carefully, as in the case of transubstantiation, in which he pronounced for one theory as "most reasonable, had not the Church determined the contrary." In these discussions, however much the Schoolmen stuck by the Church's doctrine, the fact of the discussion was gradually accustoming men's minds to regard questions as open which later were to be the subject of striking new developments. A dawn of more exact study is to be seen in the labours of Nicolaus de Lyra, to whose commentaries on the sacred text Luther was much indebted, and of Raymond Lully, who travelled widely, acquiring various languages, and in 1311 securing the establishment of chairs of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic in the universities of Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Salamanca.

In the ninth and tenth centuries monasteries had grown numerous and rich, and sometimes corrupt. With the evil came the reaction, and younger and more saintly men founded new monasteries or sought to reform old ones. The monks kept them- ^{Degeneracy of monasticism.} selves distinct from the secular clergy, calling themselves specially "religious," as if religion could be most really pursued in retirement from "the world." Each monastery usually elected its own head or abbot, and professed allegiance specially to the pope, as far as possible rejecting episcopal control. Indeed, in most cases the popes expressly exempted them from it, and granted the abbots the right to wear the episcopal ring and other insignia, exemption from tithes, and from interdicts and from sentences of excommunication except by themselves.

Early in the tenth century a reformed society was founded at Clugny in Burgundy, which was ^{Clunian con-} destined to have a wide influence. Its strict ^{gregation.} rule and good administration made it so famous that

most of the French monasteries adopted its rule and placed themselves in connection with it, forming the Cluniac congregation, which in the middle of the twelfth century numbered 2,000 cloisters. The abbey grew wealthy and powerful; its vast basilica, built between 1089 and 1131, was the largest in Christendom till the construction of St. Peter's at Rome. The foundation was finally suppressed in 1790. Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) was a monk of Clugny, and received from the Cluniac order most important support.

Among numerous minor reforming congregations, such as those of Hirschau in the Black Forest (1069), and **Carthusians** Grammont (1074), the Carthusian and Cister-
and Cister-
cians. cian orders became pre-eminent. The *Carthusians* took their name from the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse (1084), founded by Bruno of Cologne. This order, while very ascetic, devoted itself to literature and art, and is said "never to have needed a reformation." The *Cistercians* were founded at Citeaux (Cistercium), near Dijon, by Robert of Champagne (1098), and were distinguished by their white garb, simpler services, and more ascetic life, from the Cluniacs. In 1115 the famous Bernard founded the affiliated monastery of Clairvaux, and by 1151 there were 500 monasteries in association, and the order became the most popular of all, until the rise of the Mendicants. But with the growth of their wealth the Cistercians gradually sank into insignificance, and many of their monasteries did not last till the Reformation.

Several orders were founded for the relief of disease and suffering. In 1095 the Hospitallers of St. Anthony
Hospitallers. were founded in consequence of an epidemic of St. Anthony's fire (erysipelas): in 1178 the Brethren of the Hospital were founded at Montpellier by Guido; and these were followed in the beginning of the
Brethren of twelfth century by the Hospital Brethren of St.
St. John. John, started in connection with the service of sick and destitute pilgrims at Jerusalem. The brethren were vowed to poverty, obedience, and chastity, and begged for the poor. They became rich, and in 1118

undertook the defence of the Holy Sepulchre, their knights becoming the rivals of the Knights Templars. They took Rhodes in 1319, gained a large part of the property of the Templars when these were suppressed in 1312, held Rhodes till 1522, when they retired to Crete, and afterwards to Sicily. In 1533 they were transferred to Malta, and in recent years they have rendered important aid to the sick and wounded in war. The Templars themselves, though

engaged in military service for the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Land, took a vow of monastic discipline on the model of St. Augustine. Later a more strict rule was imposed (1127), and the slaying of the unbeliever was laid down as their foremost duty. St. Bernard drew up a code, subjecting everything to the Grand Master of the order. Their purity was to be guarded by avoiding the kisses even of mother and sisters; they



ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA (p. 337).

were to receive no letters or presents, and have no locked trunks, etc. Innocent VII. relieved them from submission to bishops, and Gregory X. exempted them from all contributions to the Holy War, and from tithes also. But by 1180 they had greatly degenerated, and in the next century they were noted for their bad morals, character, and habits; and at last they formed an *imperium in imperio* too troublesome to be endured, and the order was formally suppressed by the council of Vienne

(1312). Other military orders with more or less monastic organisation were the Teutonic Knights, who conquered the Pomeranians; the orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, the knights of Evora, etc., protected Christians from the Moors, whose lands they constantly laid waste; the order of St. James was founded 1161 to protect pilgrims to Compostella.



ST. TERESA.

The Carmelite order grew out of a small society of hermits, founded by Berthold, a Crusader, in 1156, on **The Carmel-** Mount Carmel, which they quitted on the ex-
ites. pulsion of the Latins from the Holy Land (1238). Each hermit at first lived in a cell by himself; fasting was imposed from September till Easter; the possession of property was forbidden; and manual labour

and silence were recommended. On settling in Europe they adopted community of life, and mitigated their rules; and Innocent IV. in 1247 confirmed the order by the title of "The Friars of Our Lady of Mount Carmel." They adopted a brown habit, with a white cloak and shoulder covering (scapular), and hence were known as White Friars, a name preserved by the site of their London monastery. During the papal schism they were divided; in the fifteenth century relaxations of discipline were allowed, those who adopted the latter being known as the Shod or Conventual Friars, while the stricter members were called Barefooted Friars, or Observantines. Their numerous English monasteries were dissolved at the Reformation. In Spain, Carmelite monasteries were founded in the fifteenth century; St. Teresa, a nun of Avila, reformed her convent in the face of much opposition, and successfully carried her reforms into the fr.ars' houses.

The Trinitarians, or Mathurins, in 1198 systematically undertook the ransom of Christian captives in Barbary, at least one-third of their revenue being set **Mathurina** apart for this work. They at one time had 250 houses; and in the seventeenth century it was computed that they had rescued more than 30,000 cap- **Order of Mercy.** tives. The military order of Our Lady of Mercy was formed at Barcelona in 1218, with the same general objects, and later it devoted itself to mission work in America.

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215), as we have seen, forbade the further multiplication of monastic orders; but at that very time two orders, not so completely separate from the world as the other societies, were arising, which soon obtained recognition and gained enormous influence in the later middle ages: these were the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The Dominicans, founded by Domingo Guzman of Old Castile **St. Dominic.** (St. Dominic), aimed at popular preaching and instruction, and the combat of heresy; while the Franciscans, founded by St. Francis of Assisi, sought to revive spiritual life among the people by their preaching; and

both aimed at making evident by their poverty and self-sacrifice the ideals which the cloistered monks too often failed to attain. Dominic, born in 1170, studied theology



ST. DOMINIC.

at the university of Palencia (afterwards transferred to Salamanca), sold his clothes and books to feed the poor during a famine, and flogged himself nightly with an iron chain, but was unflinching against heretics. In 1205,

with Diego, bishop of Osma, he combated the Albigensian and other heresies in Languedoc. In 1215 he obtained Pope Innocent III.'s consent to the foundation of his order, despite the Lateran Council, by adopting the Augustinian rule, with vows of perpetual silence, except by permission of the superior, abstinence from ^{The Domin-} meat, almost incessant fasts, woollen garments, ^{icans.} strict poverty, etc. At first they wore a black cassock, but soon adopted the black mantle over a white habit and scapular (Black Friars). In 1216 the order was confirmed by Honorius III., under the title of "Preaching Friars," the right of preaching and hearing confessions everywhere being at the same time granted. The order spread everywhere. It soon relaxed its vows of poverty, accepting land and monasteries. Dominicans became confessors to great men and counsellors of princes. They administered the Inquisition, and thus wielded a terrible power; and their antagonism to the Franciscans, both in policy, and in theological argument, often furnished material for history. The famous Dominicans, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, as we have seen, ultimately fixed the tone and text of the Roman Catholic system, in one point only falling short of the Franciscans in rejecting the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, which the Franciscans strongly supported. In the fourteenth century the mystic John Tauler was a Dominican; at the end of the fifteenth the bright light of Savonarola illuminated the order; but it furnished the strongest antagonists to the Reformation.

The Franciscan order was founded by Francis, son of Peter Bernardini, born at Assisi in Umbria, Italy, in 1182. After a pleasure-loving youth, he voluntarily ^{St Francis of} took a vow of poverty and mendicancy, at ^{Assisi.} tending to lepers and discharging other menial offices. Renouncing property of every kind but the coarsest vestment, he gathered a band of twelve disciples in 1212, and boldly set forth to convert the world. Innocent III. (1215) and Honorius III. (1223) gave the brethren authority to preach everywhere. A church at Assisi, and later a grand conventual church of St. Francis at Assisi, became

the centre of the order. The dramatic and sentimental preaching of the founder were most effective; and one of his converts, Clara Sciffi, became the foundress of the rigid sisterhood of Poor Clares. St. Francis preached without success to the Mohammedans in Egypt, while other brethren went to Germany, Italy, and Spain. The humility of the order was signified by their title "Fratres Minores," whence they were often called *Minorites*.



ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

The Franciscans, or Minorites, the Dominican, owed obedience directly to the Pope; but it was governed by a "General Minister," appointed by a general chapter every third year. Although the strictest poverty was enjoined by St. Francis, he was so far sociable that he conformed to ordinary customs when in society, and he discouraged extreme asceticism, as promoting spiritual

pride, and because the body needed sustenance and care in order to be capable of full devotion. Cheerful himself, he maintained that cheerfulness was a duty, and a great defence against the devil. In many of his acts and expressions he showed a singular Christian spirit and great judgment, so that it was not difficult for his disciples after his death to elevate him almost to a level with Christ, especially in consequence of the marks which appeared in 1224 on his hands, feet, and side, resembling

Christ's wounds, and known as the "Sacred Stigmata of St. Francis." It is said that he tried to conceal them, but that many miracles were wrought by their power. He died in 1226, having witnessed the addition to the two orders of monks and nuns, of a third, consisting of lay members known as Tertiaries, who everywhere fulfilled the functions of the lay adherents in Buddhism, supporting the friars and living a religious life in the world. Dean Milman terms St. Francis "the most blameless and gentle of all saints," "emphatically the saint of the people." "The lowest of the low," he says, "might find consolation in the self-abasement of St. Francis even beneath the meanest." His poetry is worthy of note; it is "one long passionate ejaculation of love to the Redeemer in rude metre." But his ordinary speech is more poetical than his poetry. "In his peculiar language he addresses all animate, even inanimate creatures, as his brothers. . . . In one of his Italian hymns he speaks of his brother the sun, his sister the moon, etc. . . . When he died, he said with exquisite simplicity, 'Welcome, Sister Death.' . . . His life might seem a religious trance."

Men following in the footsteps of such a master were well adapted to win the people. Their numbers increased, and they became rich and powerful by the gifts, buildings, and endowments forced upon them. From acting under bishops, they acted independently, despised the secular clergy, administered sacraments, and heard confessions. The "General" of the order who succeeded St. Francis, Elias of Cortona, mitigated many rules, and, being ambitious, favoured the growth of large monasteries. Again and again attempts were made to reform the order. John of Parma, the seventh General Minister (1247), was hailed as a second St. Francis; John of Fidenza, eighth General (1265-1274), famous under the name of Bonaventura, the "Seraphic" Doctor, was as learned as he was blameless, and steadfastly sought to amend the corruptions of self-indulgence, importunate begging, assumption of undue clerical functions, and extravagant buildings, in addition to moral scandals, which were

making the friars a byword. The indulgences promised **Corruptions of the Order.** to all who visited the church of the Portiuncula at Assisi on August 1st, and the sure salvation to all who died in the garb of the order, even though only assumed just before death, were but specimens of the evils which arose. Fierce rivalry arose between Dominicans and Franciscans, and also between

The Spirituals. the "Spirituals" and the less spiritual among the latter. Following the prophecies and millennial outlook of Joachim, a Cistercian abbot (1145-1202), who foretold that the millennium would begin in 1260, the "Spirituals" put forward about 1254 an "Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel," developing these ideas, which

Millennial prophecy. was condemned by the University of Paris and by Pope Alexander IV. It was written by a Franciscan named Gerard; and after his condemnation

The Fraticelli. and imprisonment the Spiritualists called themselves Fraticelli (Little Brothers), instead of Fratres, separated themselves markedly from the rest, and found a new leader in Peter John of Olivi, author of a famous Apocalyptic work, "*Postilla in Apocalypsin.*" Pope Celestine V. in 1294 formed the Fraticelli into a new order, the Celestine-Eremites, together with his own hermits; but the next pope dissolved the order, and banished them in 1302 to a Greek island. Renouncing the papal authority, they elected a pope of their own, and spread themselves in Greece, Sicily, and other countries, everywhere working against the papacy. In the time of Pope John XXII. a new point was given to the denunciations of papal luxury and apostasy by the Spirituals; the pope retaliated with vigour, and, aided by the general of the order, held an Inquisition, which burned, degraded, and imprisoned many. In this case the Franciscans aided the evil work of the Dominican Inquisition, of which it was said by one of its victims in 1319 that if St. Peter and St. Paul were to return to earth, the Inquisition would lay hands on them as damnable heretics. So far did intolerance proceed, that a *Beghard* (see p. 359) was tried for asserting the poverty of Christ and His disciples, and Berenger of Talon, who maintained the con-

trary, was arrested; the Dominicans eagerly condemned the Franciscans who took his side, and the University of Paris elaborately condemned the Franciscan teaching. The schism among the Franciscans widened, and by the end of the fourteenth century the Franciscan *Conventuals* were distinct from the *Observants*, who still kept the founder's rule. In the fourteenth century the Franciscans established missions in Bulgaria and Georgia, in the fifteenth in the Canary Islands and on the Congo, in the fifteenth and sixteenth in South America and Mexico. Francis, of Paola in Calabria, late in the fifteenth century, founded "the Hermits of St. Francis of Assisi," better known as the "Minims," from their title of "Fratres Minimi." They were noted for their adoption of a perpetual Lenten rule; viz., to abstain always from animal food. The Augustinian Eremites (or Austin Friars), formed into a society in 1256 under the rule of St. Augustine, numbered 30,000 at the time of the Reformation. Another mendicant order was that of the Servites (the slaves of the Virgin Mary), founded in 1233. The Béguines were societies founded in Flanders about 1180, to attend to the sick and poor while working at their ordinary employments; and they have lasted till the present day. The members are widows and single women, living, not in convents, but in a group of small houses surrounded by a wall, and known as *Béguines* and "*Béguinage*." The Beghards were associations of men founded with a similar object; but their character degenerated, and the name became synonymous with mendicancy and heresy, and they were placed under the authority of the Franciscans by Pope Innocent X. In such varied forms the monastic spirit tried to keep alive true Christianity, but proved extremely liable to corruption and corrupt use. The reign of monasticism, as once understood and submitted to, passed away with the Reformation.



MARTIN LUTHER.

CHAPTER X.

Persecutions and the Reformation.

Intolerance and persecution—Manichæan sects—Paulicians—Petrobrusians—Cathari—Albigenses—Their tenets—Waldo—The Waldenses—The Inquisition—Torquemada—Ximenes—The mystics—Nicolas of Basle—Tauler—Thomas à Kempis—Brethren of the Common Life—Wyclif—The Lollards—John Huss—The Council of Constance—Huss and Jerome burnt—Religious War—The United (Moravian) Brethren—Council of Basle—The Greek Church—The Renaissance—Savonarola—Luther—His ninety-five theses—Papal Bull against him—Diet of Worms—Luther translates Bible—Zwingli—His sixty-five theses—The Reformation in Zurich—Anabaptists—Conference of Marburg—Diet of Spire—Protest of Lutheran princes—The Augsburg Confession—The Theses of Berne—Zwingli's distinctive doctrines—Confessions of Basle.

DIFFERENCES of opinion and of interpretation were never lacking, from the earliest ages of the Church, as we have seen. They changed their ground from age to age; often they reverted to former opinions, sometimes in a new dress. But the human mind, naturally believing that of two seeming contradictions, both cannot be true, tends to set up one set of opinions or form of doctrine as certainly true, and to denounce any other as evil, and consequently to be suppressed; never imagining that there may be other truths which would reconcile seeming contradictions, or that the whole truth may be something greater than, and inclusive of, all the partial truths already known. The idea of tolerating diversity of opinion on matters incapable of direct proof, or of tolerating free thought, has been exceedingly slow of growth and acceptance. Forgetting that Christ presented His gospel to different persons in very diverse aspects, and did not demand of each follower the understanding and acceptance of all that He taught, theologians gradually evolved from their reading of Scripture a creed, or series of creeds and explanations of those creeds, which, together with the sacraments and sacramental doctrine and their system of Church government, they held to be entirely true and divine, and forced indiscriminately upon all who came under their power, as absolutely necessary to salvation, and rejection of which deserved punishment in this world and hereafter. It was inevitable in these circumstances that "heresies" should arise again and again. Human nature could not be forcibly deprived of its inherent tendency to "vary in every direction," to produce new forms of thought and speculation, to be tested, to be stamped out, or to survive by dint of the value they had, or perchance by the insidiousness and attractiveness of the evil they contained.

Manichæism, though apparently crushed in earlier centuries, survived in later heresies, such as that of the Paulicians, who originated in Armenia in the seventh century. They selected St. Paul's teaching as their special guide, rejecting St. Peter as

Christ's betrayer, retaining at the same time some

Paulicians. Manichæan principles. They were persecuted by successive emperors, but lasted long in various quarters. Some of them settled in Thrace in the middle of the eighth century; and in the tenth they were reinforced by another settlement, and occupied considerable tracts in Thrace and Macedonia. They appear to have had some influence, through the intercourse arising during the Crusades, upon sects which spread in France, Northern Italy, and in Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were often marked by fanaticism. Peter

Petrobrusians. of Bruis, founder of the Petrobrusians in Dauphiny, in the beginning of the twelfth century, taught that only believers (not infants) should be baptised, and rejected the use of churches and crosses, the efficacy of the Eucharist, prayers and oblations for the dead, and the singing of hymns. He was burnt to death by the people of St. Gilles in Provence, after twenty years' successful preaching. He was succeeded by Henry of Lausanne, whose adherents were named Henricians. St. Bernard undertook a very successful mission against them in 1147, and the leader was given up in chains to the

Cathari. bishop of Toulouse. The so-called Manichæans were chiefly known as Cathari (or Puritans) in Germany, and as Publicani in France, until they were generally termed Albigenses (from Albi). Even in the twelfth century the popular feeling was strongly excited against them, and many were burnt, though not with the sanction of such men as St. Bernard.

It was in Languedoc and around Toulouse that the heretical sects spread most vigorously, holding a council of their own in 1167 of bishops and representatives under a so-called Pope Niquinta, who taught that all Churches should be independent of each other. They became so formidable that the third Lateran Council, in 1179, called on all the faithful to protect Christian people against them by arms. We cannot go into the details of the crusades which followed (1198-1229), and which crushed the power of Raymond, Count of Toulouse. We will briefly glance at some of the principles of the Albigensian sects.

They held certain Manichæan tenets, such as the antagonism between spirit and matter, the creation of the material world by the evil principle, together **Albigensian** with a disbelief in the righteousness of the Old **tenets.** Testament dispensation. Christ they regarded as the highest angel, and His bodily appearance and actions were explained as spiritual only. The whole world was to be saved by an escape from bodily imprisonment into spirit life. They considered marriage as at best a necessary evil, rejected the entire sacramental system, and destroyed churches and their apparatus. They had a priesthood and bishops of their own, with a sacrament called "Consolation," by which the Paraclete or Comforter was bestowed, by any one who had received it: by this the heavenly soul, lost at the Fall, was restored to the believer. Those who had received this were the Elect or Perfect, and had to live a completely ascetic life, unmarried, and to labour only to propagate the truth, renouncing all property. Their other sacraments were the blessing of bread at meals (thus making all meals eucharistic), penance, and ordination. There are very diverse reports about the actual lives of the Albigenses, their rigidly pure lives, according to some, securing them great influence, and inducing many nobles to entrust their children to them for education; while their enemies charge them with many crimes, loose living, and want of charity. No doubt, as in most other sects, there were black sheep among them, with many of the better sort. What is certain is, that they were indiscriminately persecuted and cruelly treated and that in many cases they retaliated on their persecutors.

Often confused with the Albigensian sects, the Waldenses are quite distinct, being in no way infected with Manichæism, and owing their name to Waldo, **Waldo.** a wealthy merchant of Lyons in the latter part of the twelfth century, who employed two priests to translate many books of the Bible and selections from the Fathers into the Romance vernacular. Selling all his property and giving it to the poor, he aimed at a life of Christian perfection, and began preaching throughout

the towns and villages; and his followers did the same, under the name of Humiliati, or poor men of Lyons. Waldo was excommunicated, not for heresy, but for unauthorised preaching, and anathematised by Pope Lucius III. and the Council of Verona. By their simple, earnest, scriptural preaching Waldo and his followers made many converts in Southern France, Northern Italy, and Spain.

The In many ways they showed themselves true
Waldenses. evangelists and helpers of the people, and taught a primitive Christianity, gradually rejecting prayers for the dead, priestly powers, penances, purgatory, and the ecclesiastical miracles. Their high character is attested even by their enemies—their moderation, sobriety, and hard work in their employments, their truth-speaking and avoidance of oaths. During the Dominican Inquisition which oppressed the Albigenses, the Waldenses also suffered severely; and they gradually took refuge in Alpine valleys in Piedmont, giving to the district the name of Vaudois, where they long remained safe from attack. In 1487 Pope Innocent VIII. ordered their extermination; and the consequent attacks made upon them greatly reduced their strength. In 1530 deputies from the Vaudois in Dauphiny and Provence met the German and Swiss Reformers, and the result was the adoption of some of the distinctive tenets of the latter, and a complete break with the Roman Church. In 1655 they were barbarously treated by an army authorised by the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which roused Protestant indignation against the persecutors. In 1685 a new era of persecution followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A remnant of them now form a separate Protestant Church¹ in Italy, largely supported by contributions from Protestant countries.

It had always been a function of the bishops to inquire into the prevalence of erroneous teaching and to stamp
The it out, largely by the aid of “the secular power”
Inquisition. of obedient princes. In 1163 the Council of Tours first used the title of Inquisitor in reference to

¹ See Gilly, *Excursion to the Valleys of Piedmont*, and *Researches on the Waldenses*.

inquiries into orthodoxy; and in 1184 the Council of Verona directed the bishops to put down the Cathari and the Poor Men of Lyons (Waldenses), cursing all heretics and those who sheltered them. The Inquisition, properly so called, was, however, started by Pope Gregory IX., who in 1232 constituted the Dominicans inquisitors into heresy in Toulouse, with appeal only to the Pope. "The suspicion of heresy was sufficient cause for imprisonment; accomplices and criminals were deemed competent witnesses; the accused was never informed of his accusers, nor confronted with them; confession was often extorted by torture." Of course it would have been impossible to carry out the cruel system of punishments devised, but for the aid of the secular power; but this was usually granted readily, either through fear or willingly. Often the populace rose against the Inquisition; and in some places, as at Toulouse, it was suppressed. We have not space to recount the deeds of the Inquisition in France and Italy in the thirteenth century, and in Germany in the fourteenth. From 1232 onward it was active in Spain, often with every kind of tyranny and cruelty. In 1480 it was more elaborately organised; and before the end of 1481 298 persons had been burnt in Seville alone. In 1483 the Dominican Thomas of Torquemada was appointed Inquisitor-general for Castile and Leon; and by his rigid and cruel system the Jews, Moors, and Moriscoes were tortured, killed, or banished from Spain. On the death of Torquemada, in 1498, Cardinal Ximenes succeeded him as Inquisitor-general. He utterly opposed the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, as a profanation, and also refused publicity to the proceedings of the Inquisition, or any alleviation of their harshness. Yet he is famous in scholarship for his publication of the Complutensian Polyglott Bible. The Inquisition was established in Portugal and in all the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. After the beginning of the seventeenth century its activity diminished; in the eighteenth century torture was abandoned. Down to 1809 it is said that 31,912 persons had been burnt alive in Spain. Napoleon put it down

wherever he gained power; but it lingered later, and a Jew was burnt and a Quaker schoolmaster hanged in Spain in 1826. The Inquisition was active in Italy up to the time of the consolidation of the kingdom in 1859-60; and the central agency of the Inquisition is still in existence at Rome, and many Romanists hope for its re-establishment in full activity. It was never established in England.

Before referring to the more active uprisings which preceded the Reformation, we must notice certain religious writers and teachers whose influence

The Mystics. certainly prepared the way for it. Henry Eckart, a Saxon, Dominican vicar-general in Bohemia in 1307, was strikingly mystic and even pantheistic in his teaching. Nicolas of Basle (1308-1393), the chief leader of the "Friends of God," having completely renounced

Nicolas of Basle. the world and his own will, and attained inward intercourse with God, devoted himself to leading others into the same state. He never received ordination, but did not deny any doctrine of the Church. He was thus the first great Quietist, believing in a resignation to the Divine will only parallel to the Mohammedan's. Their direct "inspiration" from God rendered the mystics independent of the Church, which consequently was hostile to them. Several of the leaders were burnt, Nicolas in 1393, at Vienne. John Tauler¹ (1290-1361) was a follower of Eckart on the speculative side,

and of Nicolas on the mystic, and one of the most influential preachers of his time. He asserted that "he who confesses the true faith of Christ, and sins only against the person of the Pope, is no heretic." Suso, Ruysbroek, Gerson, Gerard Groot, and

Thomas à Kempis. Thomas à Kempis, in different ways carried on the inward religious life and speculation, producing works remarkable for their spirituality, and also taking part in noble philanthropic movements. In exalting personal communion with God through faith, they developed a form of religious life which has had enormous

¹ See *Life and Sermons of John Tauler*. Translated by C. Winkworth, 1857.

influence. Gerard Groot, in particular, by founding the self-supporting society of "Brethren of the Common Life," at Deventer, for spiritual profit and evangelisation, set the mendicant friars an example which they greatly resented. Groot was loyal to the Church, enjoining the daily hearing of mass, but studied chiefly the Gospel and the writings of the Fathers. His follower, Florentius Radewin, completed the organisation, which was approved by some popes. It was ultimately absorbed by the Reformation.

John Wyclif (1324-1384) is honourably distinguished as the most original and influential Reformer of the Church in the fourteenth century.

He was an Oxford scholastic theologian of the highest ability, and largely in accord with Roger Bacon: a strong supporter of England against Rome, and of the temporal against spiritual power. His great

works on Divine and Civil Dominion maintained that God had given no supreme authority to any vicar on earth, whether priest or king, but to each his own province; while all God's people must obey Him rather than man. Thus he supplied arguments against all excessive papal and spiritual claims. He founded an order of poor preachers, without mendicancy, who went through the diocese of Lincoln and elsewhere preaching the gospel. Their followers became known and persecuted as



JOHN WYCLIF.

Lollards, and connected with people similarly termed in the Low Countries and Western Germany. About 1380 Wyclif commenced and largely carried out an English translation of the Bible from the Vulgate. In 1381 he enunciated the doctrine of consubstantiation, as against the transubstantiation of the Church, in a form similar to that of Berengar of Tours, asserting that the bread and wine remain in the sacrament after its consecration. His teaching was condemned by the University of Oxford, and by a council in London. Wyclif continued to work and write with great vigour, and died in 1384 when under citation to appear before Urban IV. at Rome, to whom he replied that he ought not to follow the pope, except so far as he himself followed Christ. The Council of Constance (1414-8) impotently sentenced him to death; and in 1428 Pope Martin V. had his bones burnt and the ashes thrown into the river Swift. The Lollards. Lollards were fiercely persecuted, and many were burnt, but some remained to join in the later Reformation.

In distant Bohemia a movement for purifying the Church and studying the Scriptures at first hand was making headway. The University of Prague, founded in 1348, aided this. Mathias of Janow was one of the most notable forerunners of Huss. While loyal to the Church, he paid more regard to the study of the manuscripts of the Bible than to the teaching of the Fathers.

John Huss John Huss (1369-1415), who had read the writings of Wyclif for many years, became Rector of the University of Prague in 1403. His eloquent friend, Jerome of Prague (1379-1416), a greater theologian, did much to make Wyclif's works known in Bohemia. Huss maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation; but asserted the supreme authority of Scripture, the spiritual nature of the Church, whose head was Christ, and the supremacy of the believer's conscience. He exposed pretended miracles and corruptions in the Church. The Papal party tried to prevent Huss from preaching, charging him with heresy, and burnt Wyclif's books. Huss appealed to John XXIII., then (1410) made pope after a long career of tyranny and

misconduct. John (1412) offered large indulgences to all who aided a crusade against Ladislaus, King of Naples. Huss preached against it, but had to leave Prague to save it from the papal interdict of all religious functions (1413). He then wrote his great work *De Ecclesia*, defining the Church as the whole body of believers, past, present, and future, predestined to life, with Christ as its Head, and the pope as His Vicar, if he follows the example of St. Peter. His powerful tracts in the Bohemian language formed complete expositions of Christianity, as consisting in faith and belief in the truth, obedience to the Divine law, and prayer to God. Many false charges of heresy and other offences were made against Huss, and he was summoned, with a guarantee of safe return from the Emperor Sigismund, to the Council of Constance in 1414 (the sixteenth œcumenical, according to the Roman reckoning).



JOHN HUSS.

At this, demands for a reformation of the papacy was made by such men as Peter d'Ailly, Archbishop of Cambray, and John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, who yet were most rancorous in their opposition to Huss. He denied the false charges made against him, and refused to abjure what he had never held or taught. The Emperor's safe conduct was not respected; he was told that his power could not save a heretic from the punishment due to his errors, and that his pledge could

not bind the council, which was greater than the Emperor; and that the Doctors of the Church had taught that no faith should be kept with heretics. The trial was a farce; no witnesses were heard on behalf of Huss; his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. He was burnt on July 6, 1415, and in the next year the same

Huss and Jerome burnt. fate awaited Jerome of Prague, although from fear and physical weakness he recanted and renounced Wyclif's doctrines and acknowledged the justice of Huss's condemnation. Yet afterwards he recanted his recantation, though declaring that he held all the

Religious war. articles of the Christian faith. A fierce religious war followed in Bohemia. In 1420 a compact with the Hussites granted freedom of preaching, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, and reform of the Church; but this was accepted only by the more moderate or calixtine party (from *calix*, the cup). They received further concessions from the Council of Basle (1433); but the more radical Hussites (Taborites) held out, formed the Bohemian Brethren (1450-1627), and ultimately were absorbed in the Moravian Brethren (Unitas Fratrum, United Brethren), revived by Count Zinzendorf early in the eighteenth century. They professed obedience to the Scriptures and the law of love,

The United Moravian Brethren. regarded the Eucharist as simply commemorative, and rejected the Real Presence. Towns were founded in Moravia and elsewhere in Germany for exclusive occupation of the brethren; and missions were established through Europe and in North America, which attained great fame and success. By them the later movement of John Wesley in England was largely influenced. They retain government by bishops, who are not diocesan but universal in their scope; they ordain presbyters and deacons. Their worship is simple, liturgical, and primitive, and they use a rich hymnology, largely composed by their own leaders.

The deposition of Pope John XXIII. for heresy followed the burning of Huss. His successor, Martin V. (1417-1431), did little in the way of reform and revived the highest claims of his predecessors. The Council of

Basle, in 1432, renewed the declaration of Constance that a general council was above the pope, elected its own president, passed many decrees for re-
 forming the Church and the papacy, and deposed Pope Eugenius IV. in 1439. A counter-council at Ferrara (1438) excommunicated those who attended at Basle and annulled its acts; it was afterwards removed to Florence, and is now recognised by the Roman Church as the seventeenth œcumenical. At this council a last fruitless effort was made to reunite the Greek and the Roman Churches, by the (Greek) Emperor, John Paleologus II.; but the accommodation which was devised, and which granted the supremacy of the pope, was repudiated by the people, and finally by himself; and a little later the Greek Empire fell before the victorious Turks, by whose favour alone the Greek Church continued to exist in Moslem territory. Eugenius IV. retained power as pope in spite of the Council of Basle, and before his death, in 1447, had arranged terms with the Emperor Frederick III. and the German electors; and the Council of Basle ended in 1449 in failure.



MELANCHTHON.

The Renaissance of Art and Letters was now influencing Italy and the Universities; and several popes so far yielded to its influence as to become classical rather than Christian, while some were conspicuous for their vices and crimes. Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini) issued from the Congress of Mantua the Bull *Execrabilis*, declaring that an appeal from the

Pope to a general Council was punishable by excommunication, in direct opposition to the side he had formerly taken. The greater part of the Vatican and the Sistine Chapel are among the works due to the popes of the latter part of the fifteenth century. The criminality of the papal government at this time was thrown into relief by the appearance of the striking figure of Savonarola (1452-1498), a Dominican, who, without bringing forward any heretical doctrine, powerfully preached against the corruptions of the age, and denounced God's vengeance on the Church. In Florence he effected a striking Puritan reform, as also in his own monastery. In 1497 a great "sacrifice of vanities" was made under his influence; but the infamous Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia) excommunicated him, and on May 30, 1498, he was hanged and burnt.

While the popes in the early part of the sixteenth century were quarrelling with the French king, and while Leo X. (1513-1521) was revelling in the culture and art of the Renaissance, Martin Luther (1483-1546), the man who was to upset much of the work of the papacy, the son of a Saxon miner, was a devout Augustinian friar, working out for himself the problem of personal religion, and studying St. Augustine's writings more than any of the Fathers. A visit to Rome in 1510 showed him something of the prevailing corruptions. He had studied Tauler and the German mystics deeply; but an external event, the extremely mercenary sale of indulgences, for the benefit of the building of St. Peter's at Rome, by John Tetzel, a Dominican, in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, where Luther was teaching theology, led to the opening of his active warfare for religious reform. On October 31, 1517, he nailed on the door of the Castle church at Wittenberg ninety-five theses denying the power of the Pope to remove the guilt of the smallest transgression, and asserting that the obtaining of grace was a matter of immediate relation between God and the soul. The theses went through Germany instantly. Luther wrote several tracts and sermons on the subject, still maintaining that the

pope could not know of the false doctrines that were being taught. In November, 1518, Pope Leo X. condemned the attacks on indulgences, and claimed full power of releasing sinners from punishment. Luther appealed to a general Council, denying the supremacy of the Pope, and asserting that the power of the keys resided, not in him, but in the Church collectively, and also that the Council of Constance had condemned as heretical things entirely Christian. His fame as a teacher drew crowds of students. In his book on the Babylonish Captivity of the Church (1520) he demanded the total abolition of indulgences and the giving of the cup to the laity, and expressed his doctrine of "consubstantiation," viz., that the bread and wine of the sacrament remain bread and wine, though, after the consecration they truly contain the flesh and blood of Christ in union with them. In September, 1520, a papal Bull was published in Germany con- **Papal Bull**
demning forty-one heretical propositions from **against him.**
Luther's writings, ordering his works to be burnt, and himself to retract his errors within sixty days. Luther, in response, publicly burnt the papal Bull, together with the decretals and the whole Roman canon law, on December 10, 1520. He was speedily excommunicated and summoned to a Diet at Worms before the **Diet of**
Emperor and Electors of Germany. Here he **Worms.**
defended himself boldly, claimed freedom of conscience, denied the right of the clergy to control men's religious convictions, and withdrew from none of his positions. He was outlawed on May 25, 1521, and concealed in the castle of Wartburg, where he translated the **Luther trans-**
New Testament into German, a translation **lates Bible.**
which made German a literary language and powerfully aided the Reformation. During his absence his rival Carlstadt had celebrated the Communion with the omission of all the distinctive Roman features, giving it to all in both kinds; and he was proposing other violent changes. Luther, on returning to Wittenberg, in 1522, pursued a more moderate course, but gave up monastic and ascetic life in 1524, and married in 1525.

Meanwhile another great reformer had arisen in Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), pastor of Glarus from 1506-1516, a learned man who had become disgusted with the corruptions of the Church and especially with the indulgences granted to pilgrims: **Zwingli.** In 1519 he became preacher in Zurich cathedral, taking as his first subject the life of Christ as he interpreted it; apart from human authority. In 1521 he began to be called a heretic, and preached on 1 Tim. iv. 1-5, to the effect that it was no sin to eat flesh on a fast day, but a great sin to sell human flesh for slaughtering (alluding to the hiring of Swiss mercenary soldiers then prevalent). In 1522 he published tracts on reform which caused the local authorities to arrange a public disputation in Zurich with the vicar of the bishop of Constance (January **His sixty-five** 29, 1523). Zwingli presented sixty-five theses, **theses.** asserting that Christ is the only way to salvation, independent of the papacy, mass, absolution, indulgences, intercession of the saints, etc.; that Scripture is the only authoritative guide, and the Roman system a dangerous delusion; that the congregation, not the priesthood, properly constitutes and rules the Church, subject to the State; but if the State authorities go beyond Christ's teaching, they must be deposed. His demonstration was so powerful that he was completely victorious, and the council of Zurich reformed public worship in accordance with the Reformer's teaching. **The Reformation in Zurich.** Convents were closed; the cathedral chapter was converted into a theological students' college. Zwingli and other priests married, images were given up as unlawful, the mass was declared to be not a sacrifice, the relics and the organ disappeared from the cathedral, various festivals, processions, and other ceremonies were discontinued, and at Easter 1525 the Communion was celebrated as the Lord's Supper, with the table spread with a white cloth and the cup was given to the laity.

Meanwhile the Anabaptists had appeared in Saxony and in several other parts of Germany, declaring especially against infant baptism, on the ground of the incapacity

of infants to exercise faith, and enforcing adult baptism. In Zurich they appeared in 1523, demanding the formation of a holy congregation, from which all should be excluded who were not rebaptised and truly holy. About the same time Zwingli began to write against the doctrine of Luther on consubstantiation; and their views were found to diverge so much that in September 1529 a conference was held at Marburg between Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Ecolampadius, Osiander, and other Reformers, to endeavour to come to a complete agreement; but after three days this was found to be impossible, Zwingli protesting his desire for union, but Luther proving unyielding. Zwingli's doctrines had gained largely in Switzerland, at the same time exciting the bitter hostility of the Romanist cantons, when he was killed on October 11, 1531, while acting as chaplain to the army of Zurich, defeated on that day at Kappel.

Before the death of Zwingli, however, the decisive establishment of the Lutheran Church in Germany had taken place. The Diet held at Spires in 1526 had resolved in favour of tolerance in religious matters; but the adhesion of the Bavarian dukes had by 1529 restored the majority to the Roman side; and the Diet of Spires in that year forbade the preaching of Zwingli's doctrine about the Eucharist, and that of the Anabaptists, and ordered that the reformers should teach nothing in their sermons contrary to the received doctrine of the Church. The Lutheran princes, headed by John, Elector of Saxony, then handed in their celebrated Protest, from which the term Protestant is derived. They declared themselves ready to obey the Emperor and the Diet in all reasonable matters; but they appealed from all past, present, or future vexatious measures to the Emperor, and to a free and universal council. They maintained the supreme authority of the Bible, which was to be explained by itself, and not by tradition. The conference of Marburg, already spoken of, followed, and if it did not produce entire union, its fourteen articles of united belief were

Anabaptists.

Conference of Marburg.

Diet of Spires.

Protest of Lutheran princes.

of the greatest service in manifesting essential unity as against Rome. But henceforth the history of Protestantism became markedly national.

The principal document of Lutheranism, the Augsburg Confession, was drawn up by Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), the learned and gentle companion of Luther, and his helper in the translation of the Bible into German. The Emperor Charles V., at the Diet of Augsburg, commanded the Lutheran princes to draw up a statement of their faith; and Melanchthon wrote it, basing it on Luther's teaching, but with studious moderation. This Confession may be taken as establishing the Lutheran Church. It affirms the ancient doctrines of the Church as laid down in the œcumenical creeds, and repudiates Unitarianism, Arianism, and all the heresies denounced by the early councils. It maintains the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, and condemns Pelagianism; teaching that men are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favour; and their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, "who by His death hath satisfied for our sins." The Church is defined as the congregation of saints or assembly of all believers, in which the gospel is purely preached and the sacraments are administered according to the gospel; and it is sufficient for the true unity of the Church to agree concerning the doctrine of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments; nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies should be everywhere alike. Baptism is declared necessary to salvation, and the baptism of infants is held to be right. Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation is declared, but the Communion only avails when joined with faith in the recipient. Saints are not to be invoked or prayed to, for Christ is the sole Mediator. Good works are not discountenanced, but are necessary, though not the means of salvation. Various Romish errors are repudiated, such as Communion in one kind, celibacy of the clergy, masses celebrated for money, and the mass as a sacrifice, the enumeration of sins at confession, special mortifications and peculiarities of abstinence, rigidity and

special merits of monastic vows, and jurisdiction of bishops beyond what is plainly taught by the gospel. Luther's remaining years were devoted to the settlement of the German Churches, too often in an exclusive and masterful spirit; but we cannot here detail his labours. He died on Feb. 18, 1546.

We must now briefly sum up the position taken by Zwingli so far as distinctive, and as definitely characterising the earliest Swiss Reformed Churches; **The Theses** leaving Calvin's work and the Reformation in **of Berne.** England, for later chapters. Next to Zwingli's sixty-five articles (p. 374) stand his ten Theses of Berne, 1528. which rejected tradition, accepted the Scriptures as the only authority, and Christ as the sole redemption and satisfaction for the sins of the world, rejected the corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist as incapable of proof from Scripture, the mass as a sacrifice, and all mediation except that of Christ, together with purgatory, masses and prayers for the dead, image worship, and celibacy of the clergy. He more fully elaborated his doctrine in a confession sent to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. In July, 1531, he wrote a further exposition to Francis I. of France, begging him to give the gospel freedom in his kingdom and to judge the Reformed faith by its fruits when established. In these confessions he taught the unconditional election or predestination of those who are to be saved, faith **Zwingli's distinctive doctrines.** being the means by which it is appropriated. Those who hear the gospel and reject it are fore-ordained to eternal punishment. God by His providence controls and disposes all events; the fall of man with its consequences happened under His foreknowledge and fore-ordination. It is this doctrine especially which was more fully developed by Calvin.

As to the Lord's Supper, Zwingli holds that it is the visible sign of an invisible grace, there being a clear distinction between the sign and the thing signified. Communion with Christ is not confined to the sacrament, nor do all who partake of it really commune with Christ. The priestly act is of no avail, the faith of the recipient

being the only means of its efficacy. The sacraments aid and strengthen faith, and are public testimonies of it. The Lord's Supper is a commemoration, not a repetition of Christ's sacrifice; the bread and wine represent, but are not really, the body and blood of Christ, who is present only to the eye of faith; His human body, which is in heaven, cannot be everywhere at the same time; and the eating and drinking of the sacrament is a spiritual partaking only. He shows that the figurative interpretation of Christ's words of institution is like a great number of His other expressions, which cannot be literally true. Zwingli further went beyond Romans and Lutherans in his doctrine of the salvation of children dying unbaptised, by the merits of Christ. He also believed in the salvation of many adult heathen.

The First Confession of Basle (1534) was first drawn up by John Ecolampadius, the principal reformer of Basle, ^{Confessions} before his death in 1531, and put into its pre-^{of Basle.} sent shape by his successor, Oswald Myconius. It asserts briefly the main Zwinglian doctrines, terming Christ the food of the soul to everlasting life, and repudiates the views of the Anabaptists. The Second Confession of Basle (1536) is also termed the First Helvetic Confession, from its having been drawn up by a conference of the leading Swiss divines, and intended to be laid before the general council of the Church. It chiefly differs from the Zwinglian Confessions in laying more stress on the significance of the sacramental signs and the real spiritual presence of Christ. The Reformed doctrines had by this time received their remarkable Calvinistic development in the publication by Calvin, in 1534, of his *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, generally known as Calvin's Institutes. The Council of Trent, however, by its decisions entirely precluded any hope of accommodation with the Reformers.





CHAPTER XI.

The Council of Trent and Modern Romanism.

The Council of Trent—The Creeds and the Bible—Original sin and Baptism—Justification—Penance—The seven sacraments—The "Real Presence"—Transubstantiation and the adoration of the Host—Confession—Long intermission of the Council—The Mass—Orders—Marriage and divorce—Purgatory—Prayers to saints—Relics and images—Tridentine profession and Roman Catechism—Bellarmine—Bossuet—Möhler—Perrone—Ignatius Loyola—Faber and Xavier—The Jesuit Order—Jansen's "Augustinus"—Arnault—Pascal—Quesnel—Jansenists—Causes of Jesuit successes—Moral defects—Recent history—"The Immaculate Conception"—Vatican Council, 1870—Papal infallibility—Number of Roman Catholics—The Roman Congregations—Roman service books—The Old Catholics—Theses of Union Conference—Swiss Old Catholics.

THE Council of Trent, the most important modern Council of the Roman Catholic Church, was distinguished by the protracted length and interruption of its sittings, and by the extent and variety of its pronouncements. It was first summoned for 1537, by Pope Paul III., but various causes led to its postponement; and it at last met at Trent (*Tridentum*), in the Italian Tyrol (under Austrian rule), on Dec. 13, 1545. Its avowed objects were the extirpation of heresy, the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, the reformation of morals, and the restoration of peace and unity. To it were invited the princes and divines who supported the Reform movement; but they declined to attend, as they were not even to discuss controverted questions. They said that the Council would be neither free, nor Christian, nor œcumenical, nor ruled by the word of God, and that it would only confirm the authority of the Pope.

After several preliminaries, in February, 1546, the

Nicene Creed was adopted, and Luther's exclusive ad-
The Creeds hesion to the Scriptures was rejected, it being
and the Bible. added, that saving truth of equal authority
 with the Scriptures was also contained in the traditions
 of the Church, handed down from Christ or the Apostles
 through the Fathers. It was also decided that all the
 canonical books, including the Apocrypha, were authentic
 and to be received. The Latin Vulgate version, regarded
 by the Reformers as full of errors, was declared authentic.
 In opposition to the right of private judgment, it was
 ordered that no one should presume to interpret the Scrip-
 tures in senses contrary to that of holy mother Church,
 whose function it was to judge of their true sense and
 interpretation.

In June, 1546, the doctrine of "original sin," trans-
Original sin mitted to all mankind through Adam, was
and Baptism. affirmed, and also its remedy and removal by
 the merit of Jesus Christ, applied both to adults and to
 infants by baptism, rightly administered in the form of
 the Church. Infants, even newly born, need baptism for
 the remission of sins, that they may be cleansed from the
 taint of original sin; after baptism original sin is taken
 away, and they are made innocent, immaculate, pure, and
 harmless. The question as to the immaculate conception
 of the Virgin, who is mentioned as "the blessed and
 immaculate Virgin Mary, the Mother of God," was left
 open, though the Franciscans strongly desired that she
 should be declared free from the taint of original sin.

In January, 1547, decrees were passed relating to justifi-
 cation by the redemption of Christ—first, through the
Justification. prevenient grace of God, disposing men to con-
 sent to and co-operate with the grace of God,
 they being able to reject grace, while not able, without
 the grace of God, to turn to righteousness. Justification
 is declared to be, not merely remission of sins, but also
 the sanctification and renewal of the inward man; the
 efficient cause being the mercy of God, the meritorious
 cause the suffering of Christ upon the cross, whereby He
 made satisfaction for us to God the Father, the instru-
 mental cause the sacrament of baptism, and the formal

cause the justice of God, the communication of the merits



POPE SIXTUS THE FIFTH (1585-90).

of Christ's passion justifying men and infusing into them

faith, hope, and charity. Men are justified by faith, because it is the beginning and root of all justification, and freely, because nothing done before justification merits it; but this justification cannot be possessed, for a certainty, by those who simply settle within themselves that they are justified (as the heretics and schismatics do). Faith, co-operating with good works, increases justification, but no one is exempt from keeping all the commandments; but it is heretical to say that the just man sins in all his good works, venially at least. No man can be absolutely certain that he is predestinate to salvation, or that he shall finally persevere. Those who have fallen after justification may be restored through the sacra-

Penance. ment of penance, including sacramental confession of sins, and sacerdotal absolution, and satisfaction by fasts, alms, prayers, and other pious exercises, for the temporal punishment due for the sins. Thirty-three canons were appended to these declarations, censuring and anathematising the doctrines of justification by works, the Pelagian teaching on the power of man's free will, the beliefs that man's free will is lost, that God works any evil, that a man can be justified without the merits of Christ, that when once justified he cannot fall from grace, or that if he sins he was never really justified, that there is no mortal sin but infidelity, that he who sins after baptism cannot regain grace, or that he can regain it by faith alone, without the sacrament of penance, that after justification there is no receiving punishment, to be discharged either in this world or in purgatory, that a man cannot by good works merit and gain increase of grace and glory, and the converse of other doctrines enunciated above.

In March, 1547, thirty canons on the sacraments were adopted, anathematising those who maintain that the

The seven sacraments. seven sacraments were not all instituted by Christ, or that any is superfluous; that one sacrament is of more value than another; that the sacraments do not confer grace through the act performed (*opus operatum*); that baptism, orders, and confirmation do not imprint an indelible character; that all Christians may preach and administer the sacraments; that the sin

of the minister makes the sacrament invalid, or that the minister may change or omit sacramental rites at pleasure. On the question of baptism, among the fourteen canons, one asserts the validity of baptism by heretics in the name of the Trinity, and when intending to do what the Church does. It is asserted that baptism is essential to salvation, that the baptised may lose grace, that they are required to observe the whole law of Christ and of the Church, and that it need not be repeated after lapse into heresy and repentance. Confirmation has a special virtue, and is to be administered by bishops only.

In the middle of March, 1547, the Council was ordered to meet at Bologna, as contagious disease had broken out at Trent; but in consequence of a quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor it was suspended for four years, during which Pope Paul III. died (1549) and Julius III. succeeded him. The Council was reopened in 1551, and in October a most important decree concerning the Eucharist was adopted. It was declared that after the consecration of the bread and wine, "our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the appearance of these sensible objects," and that His presence thus can be conceived by faith, in a mode of existence which can scarcely be expressed by words. It is the spiritual food of souls, and a pledge of glory to come. Each kind contains both the body and blood of Christ, in the smallest particle, as well as His divinity; and in another article it is stated that the whole substance of the bread is converted into the body of Christ, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood of Christ. Wherefore the adoration of *latria* (worship) which is due to God, is due to the sacrament; and it should be specially adored on a yearly festival (Corpus Christi), and borne reverently through streets and public places, and also reserved in the sanctuary and carried to the sick. Preparation for its reception is to be by sacramental confession and penance in the case of any one conscious of mortal sin. A series of canons condemns all who hold opposite opinions.

The "Real Presence."

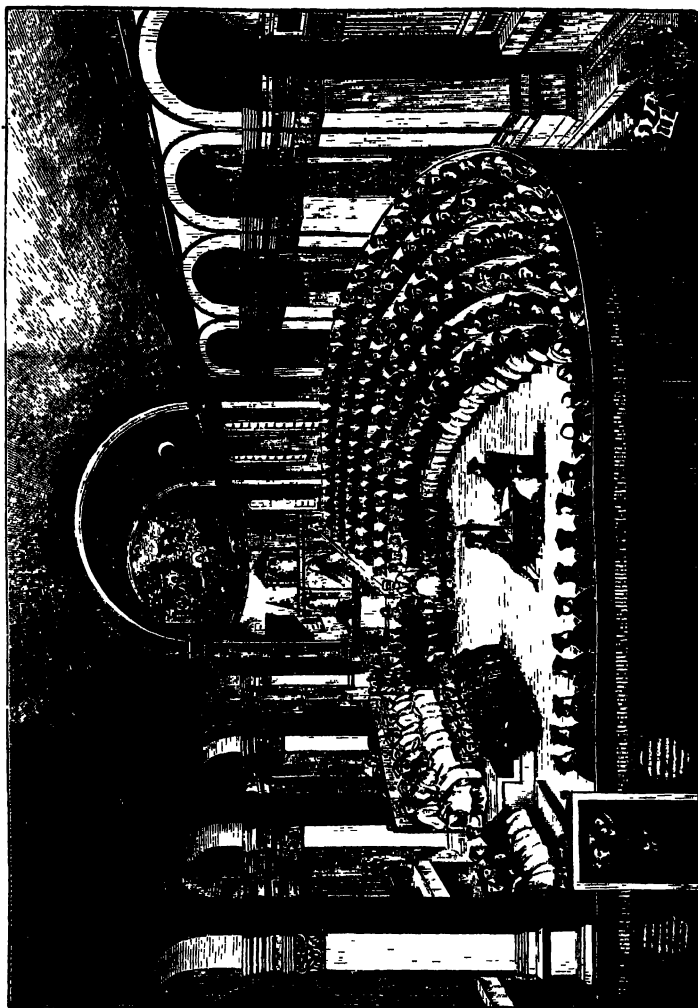
Transubstantiation and adoration of the Host.

In November 1551 decrees on penance and extreme unction were passed. It was declared that Christ instituted penance, principally when He pronounced the words, "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them," etc., for the reconciling of those who fall after baptism; and that the priest in the sacrament of penance exercises the office of a judge. The form of the sacrament is in the words of the priest, "Ego te absolvo," I absolve thee, while the penitential acts are contrition, confession, and satisfaction; and penance does not confer grace without any good motive on the part of those who re-

Confession. ceive it. Confession should be made once a year at least, preferably in Lent. Unworthy priests can still minister this sacrament by virtue of their ordination. Certain atrocious crimes ought to be reserved for popes and bishops to deal with; though there may be no reservation when the sinner is at the point of death. Without derogation from the efficacy of Christ's merit, the voluntary penances, or those imposed by the priest, as well as the patient bearing of temporal scourges inflicted by God, do make a satisfaction for our sins. Extreme unction is said to have been instituted by Christ, but only promulgated by the apostle James (James v. 14, 15). The oil blessed by a bishop is its agency; and its effect is to cleanse away the remains of sin and comfort the soul of the sick. The canons on these subjects anathematise those who repudiate confession to a priest alone secretly, or the judicial or the absolving function of the priest, or the efficacy of penance, or who reject extreme unction as a sacrament.

A long discussion about questions of episcopal jurisdiction and about holy orders followed; but the Council was prorogued early in 1552, in consequence of **Long inter-** disputes between the Emperor's ambassadors **mission of** and the papal legates. The suspension lasted **the Council.** nearly ten years, and in the meantime Pope Pius IV. had succeeded to Julius III. in 1555. When the Council again reassembled, in 1562, ambassadors from the French king proposed that the decisions of the Council should not be reserved for the Pope's approval. but that the Pope

should be compelled to submit to the decision of the



THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Council; that the Council should begin with reforming

the Church in its head and in its members; that archbishops and bishops should be compelled to reside in their sees, that bishops should only ordain priests to definite charges, etc. Little attention was paid to these demands.

In July, 1562, it was resolved that laymen, as well as priests when not celebrating, are not bound to receive the sacrament in both kinds, and communion in either is sufficient; nor are little children bound to receive the sacrament. In September, 1562, it was declared that the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, continuous with that of Christ on the cross, and may not only be

The Mass. offered for the sins of the faithful who are living, but also for the faithful who are dead, but not yet fully purified. Masses are to be said in honour of the saints, not as sacrifices to them, but to implore their patronage, "that they may intercede for us in heaven." The rites and ceremonies, lights and incense, vestments, etc., used in the mass are derived from apostolical tradition, and both honour the majesty of the sacrifice and excite the minds of the faithful to the contemplation of the sublimities hidden in the sacrifice. The mass is not usually to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, but it is frequently to be explained in sermons. The contraries of these doctrines were anathematised in nine canons.

Seven orders, besides bishops, were recognised by the Council in 1563: viz., priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers. Orders are indelible, and the priesthood cannot be possessed by all Christians. No consent of the civil power is requisite for orders, or their conferment, or for the authority of the bishops. Marriage was

Marriage and divorce. affirmed as a sacrament; but the Church asserted its power to dispense with certain limits of the Levitical law, and to create others. Divorce is forbidden, even for adultery. The marriage of priests is illegal, and celibacy is extolled as better than marriage.

In December, 1563, the doctrine of purgatory was affirmed, and that the souls there detained are helped by the prayers of the faithful, by masses on their behalf, and by alms. It was declared that the

saints in heaven offer up prayer to God for men, through Christ. The bodies of martyrs, and their relics, ought to be venerated, honoured, and visited. Images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints are to be retained Prayers to saints. and honoured, though no worship is to be paid to them; but the honour shown to them, when they are kissed, or otherwise honoured, is referred to their prototype. A strong desire was expressed to put down abuses connected with images, and all superstition, lasciviousness, or revellings in connection with them. No unusual image, no new miracles, no new relics were to be hon- Relics and images.oured, unless after full consideration of bishops, and reference of doubtful cases to the pope. Indulgences are still authorised, with moderation and correction of all abuses. The final act of the Council was to pronounce a curse upon all heretics. The decrees were signed by 255 bishops and others, and confirmed by a Bull of Pius IV. on the 20th January, 1564, reserving the exclusive right of explanation to the pope.

The Council undoubtedly felt and yielded considerably to the prevalent demand for reforms, and passed many decrees, such as those forbidding the non-residence of bishops, and a number of irregularities in the conduct and education of bishops and priests, which have been very beneficial.

Its decrees were acknowledged in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, the Roman Catholic German States, and Poland; the royal prerogatives being usually reserved. They were never formally accepted in France, and they were never introduced in England or Scotland.

A brief summary of the Tridentine decrees was prepared by order of Pius IV. in 1564, as a profession of faith to be taken by all Catholic dignitaries and teachers, including an acknowledgment that Tridentine profession and Roman Catechism. "The Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church is the mother and mistress of all Churches."

The decrees of Trent were further arranged in a popular form as the Roman Catechism, issued in 1566, subsequently charged with heresy by prominent Jesuits, who framed catechisms of their own.

We may here briefly refer to a few of the great theologians of the Romish Church since the Council of Trent.

Bellarmino. Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621) became a

Jesuit in 1560, and librarian of the Vatican in 1605. His great work "On the Controversies of the Christian Faith" (1587-90) is a storehouse of Protestant doctrines, which he gives in full from the original authorities, and of Roman refutation. It was at first proscribed by Pope Sixtus V., from a fear that by giving the teaching of the Reformers in their own words, the infection might spread in the Roman Church. Bellarmine

Bossuet. allowed only an indirect control by the pope over temporal matters. In the seventeenth century, the eloquent French prelate Bossuet (1627-1704) wrote two great theological books—(1) An "Exposition of the Catholic Church Doctrine on Matters of Controversy," in which he presents the dogmas in their most plausible form, and conciliates Protestants as much as possible; and (2) "A History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches." He did not support papal infallibility, nor supreme Roman control of foreign States. He was genuinely desirous of reunion with Protestants, and proposed to Leibnitz a suspension of the Tridentine anathemas, and the summoning of a general council in which Protestants should have votes. Adam Möhler, the greatest Ger-

Möhler. man Catholic divine (1796-1838), wrote a book entitled "Symbolics," which both defended Romanism and attacked Protestantism, giving an ideal and spiritual portraiture of the former, and making great use of Luther's private and unguarded utterances. He deplored the corruptions of the Church, acknowledged the sinfulness of many popes and priests, and ignored the question of papal infallibility. John Perrone (born in

Perrone. 1794 in Piedmont, and for many years professor of theology in the Jesuit college at Rome) wrote a large work on dogmatic theology, which is very widely used in the Roman Church, and which includes the later developments of Romanism. The Romish doctrines and discipline are described in the "Catholic Dictionary" of W. E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, 1884.

To properly understand the pronouncements of the



IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

popes against the Jansenists, we must first review the

remarkable organisation and work of the Jesuits, founded **Ignatius Loyola.** by Don Inigo or Ignatius de Loyola, a Spanish nobleman, born in 1491. He took religious vows as a Benedictine in 1521, and made the first draft of his famous "Spiritual Exercises." He conceived the idea of founding an order which should support the papacy against the German heretics, and spread the gospel among the heathen. He was twice imprisoned in Spain on suspicion of heresy; but from 1528 to 1534 he studied at Paris, and in the latter year he founded **Faber and Xavier.** his society, with Peter Faber, a priest, and Francis Xavier, afterwards the celebrated missionary to India, in 1537 taking the title of "The Company of Jesus," whence they were afterwards termed **The Jesuit Order.** "Jesuits" by Calvin. In 1540, after much opposition, the new Order was confirmed by papal bull. The employments assigned were to be preaching, spiritual exercises, works of charity, teaching the catechism, and hearing confessions; but the work to be done by any member was to be chosen by the general, and a long probation was prescribed before full admission. Francis Xavier and Rodriguez were sent to the King of Portugal to act as missionaries in his possessions. In 1541 Loyola was chosen superior or general, and immediately sent out his adherents on various special missions—two to Ireland to encourage the people in their resistance to Henry VIII., one to the Diet at Worms. A college was founded in 1542, to supply preachers for the Indian mission founded by Xavier. The Jesuits had much success both in Spain and Germany, where they proved themselves able opponents of the Protestants. Privileges and gifts flowed in upon them; but Loyola wisely stipulated that his members should not be compelled to take outside dignities and offices, or become monastic confessors. They were also placed completely at the general's disposal, and the final vows were made unchangeable. Loyola would not have his members wear a special habit, designing that they should mix freely with the world. Candidates had to renounce their own will, their family, all that they held most dear, In 1546 free day schools

were established in connection with all the Jesuit colleges. During the sittings of the Council of Trent, three members of the Order were strong advocates for the papal power, viz., Laynez, Faber, and Salmeron, and had considerable influence in framing its decrees. When Loyola died, in 1556, the society included over 2,000 members in twelve provinces, and more than a hundred colleges and houses. Laynez, the next general, added to the great powers of his office. Pope Pius V. granted still more extended privileges, and made them irrevocable at any future time. In the latter part of the sixteenth century the Jesuits had great success in counteracting the Reform movement, though they were expelled from England, France, and Antwerp.

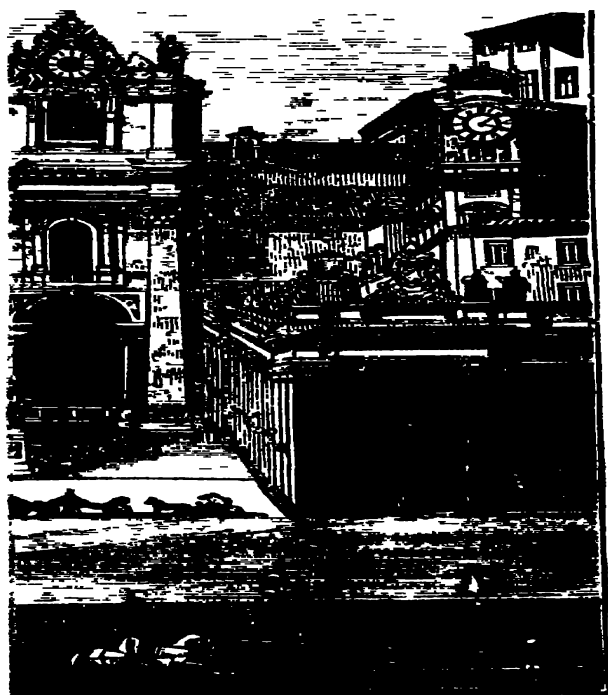
In 1640 was published the celebrated *Augustinus* of Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), Bishop of Ypres, who had taught against the Jesuits' influence at Louvain. A large part of this book is devoted to Jansen's *Augustinus*, an exposition of the Pelagian errors and of the Augustinian doctrine of Divine grace, in a sense approaching the teaching of Calvin; but its epilogue by implication compared the errors of the Jesuits to those of the early semi-Pelagians, and drew down their violent antagonism. The Inquisition prohibited it, followed by a Papal bull to the same effect in 1643. Arnauld, a famous French theologian, wrote two *Apologies* for Arnauld. Jansen, and many Catholic theologians supported the *Augustinus*. Finally, the Jesuits succeeded in getting a papal condemnation of several teachings of Jansen as heretical, which proceeding called forth the celebrated *Provincial Letters* of Blaise Pascal, Pascal. which dealt severe blows at the Jesuits. Arnauld, however, was expelled from the Sorbonne, and the Jesuits for years carried on a bitter persecution of the Jansenists, especially in France, in the latter Quesnel. part of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. Quesnel's "Moral Reflections on the New Testament" being a popular work, was especially obnoxious to the Jesuits as containing Jansenist views. In Holland a considerable section, with the deprived Arch-

bishop of Utrecht, stuck to the Jansenist teaching, and succeeded in maintaining a separatist Church, with a succession of bishops, which still exists at Utrecht, Deventer, and Haarlem, though its members do not exceed six thousand. They claim still to be members of the Catholic Church under the pope, though denying his infallibility.

What were the main elements of the success of the Jesuits, and the causes of the opposition they aroused? ¹

Causes of Jesuit successes. In the first place, the vow of indiscriminating obedience to orders from headquarters, and the extent to which that obedience has been rendered. Secondly, their continual intercourse with society, mobility, and adaptability to local circumstances. This has gone to the extent that multitudes have met with and been influenced by Jesuits without the slightest suspicion of their identity. Thirdly, the subjugation of will, understanding, and even moral judgment, to the superior and to what is considered to be the good of the Order or the Church. Fourthly, a complete system of checks, not to say spies, and a spirit of resistance to the papacy when not in accord with the Order. Many popes have condemned their actions fruitlessly; for instance, although nine popes condemned their adoption of Chinese heathen methods and rites in their Chinese missions, they maintained their course successfully. Their missions, their colleges, spread almost throughout the world; and their influence successfully hindered the spread of Protestantism in many countries and provinces. The personal and private character of the Jesuits has in general been remarkably pure and free from ill-repute. Yet both the doctrines and the acts attributed to the Jesuits have caused them to be widely suspected and disliked. The motto of the order, "*Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*," "To the greater glory of God," was interpreted in a sense which more or less overpowered moral distinctions; and three principles—(1) that of probabilism, or that probable opinions may be lawfully followed, even if they conflict

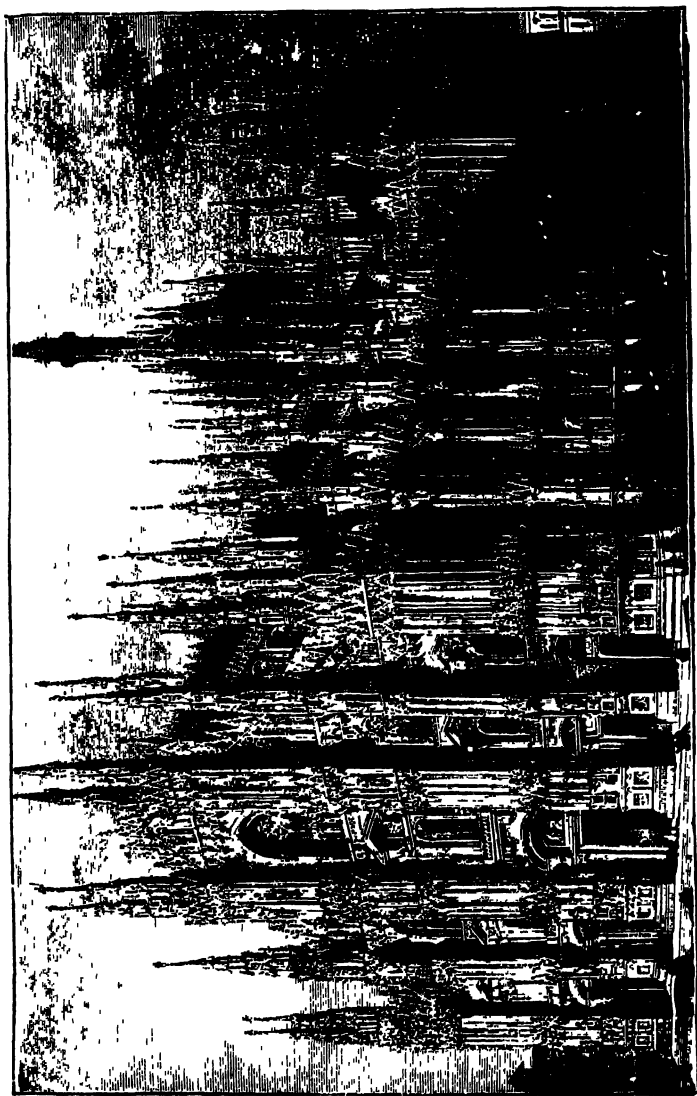
¹ See *Quarterly Review* for October, 1874, and January, 1875.



with the agent's opinion; (2) that of mental reservation; and (3) that the end justifies the means—have been with more or less justice identified with the spirit of Jesuitry. In a fully authorised and widely diffused "Compendium of Moral Theology," by Father Gury, we have such Jesuitical principles as these: "Temptation, when greatly protracted, need not be positively withstood continuously"; "The Pope can dispense from God's precepts for a just cause in cases where Divine law comes into action through human will, as in vows or oaths." As to the necessity of belief in the Trinity and Incarnation before absolution, one can be "validly absolved if only he be living in invincible ignorance." This might be used to cover the case of so-called converts in China accepted without any belief in the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. "For grave reasons" it is declared lawful at times to use latent reservations and equivocal terms; and this is illustrated by cases which practically justify many kinds of deceit. Clandestine conversions with postponed professions are permitted. The maxim that the end justifies the means has been again and again expressed by Jewish theologians. All kinds of objects and proceedings have been justified by these maxims.

The failures and mistakes of the Jesuits in the early part of the eighteenth century led to the dissolution of the Order by Pope Clement XIV. in 1773; but some members continued their society in Prussia and Russia, and in 1801 Pope Pius VII. recognised the Order in Russia; in 1804 it was restored in Naples and Sicily, and in 1814 it was completely re-established by the same pope. But the Jesuits' reception was not unanimously favourable. From Russia they were finally expelled in 1820. They were expelled from Portugal in 1834; from Spain in 1835. They did not succeed in getting legally acknowledged in France, though tolerated and by turns favoured and expelled. They regained very great influence in Belgium, and considerable strength in Prussia and Germany. In 1872 the Jesuits were banished from Germany, and in 1880 from France. We cannot wonder that States have very gene-

**Their
recent
history.**



MILAN CATHEDRAL.

rally seen in the laxity of moral principle so often exhibited by the Order a very real danger.

We need only briefly note the terms in which Pope Pius IX., on December 8th, 1854, formally proclaimed the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. It was "that the most blessed Virgin Mary, in the first moment of her conception, by special grace and privilege of Almighty God, in virtue of the merits of Christ, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin." This is to be believed by all the faithful on pain of excommunication. A new mass and a new office for the festival of her conception were promulgated in 1863.

The Vatican Council of 1870, to which the Eastern patriarchs and Protestant leaders were invited, in terms which none of them could accept, was attended by 764 cardinals, archbishops, prelates, abbots, and generals of monastic orders, 541 belonging to Europe (276 to Italy), 83 to Asia, 14 to Africa, 113 to America, and 13 to Oceania. On April 24th, 1870, the Council adopted a revised "Dogmatic Constitution of the Catholic Faith," in which the position of the Council of Trent was substantially affirmed in more modern language. It forbids all interpretation of the Bible that does not agree with the Vulgate version, the Roman traditions, and the imaginary "unanimous consent of the Fathers." All modern results of science which appear to conflict with this, all rationalism, materialism, and pantheism, were condemned, thus endorsing the previous condemnation they had received in the Papal Syllabus of Errors, 1864. Modern rationalism and infidelity are said to be the evil results of Protestantism.

On July 18th, 1870, the most important decree of the Council was passed, declaring the apostolic primacy of St. Peter, the continuance of his primacy in the pope, his episcopal supremacy over all bishops, and his supreme judicial authority, from which there is no appeal. Finally, it was declared that "the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of

all Christians, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals, is possessed of infallibility; and that therefore such definitions are irreformable (irreversible) of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church."

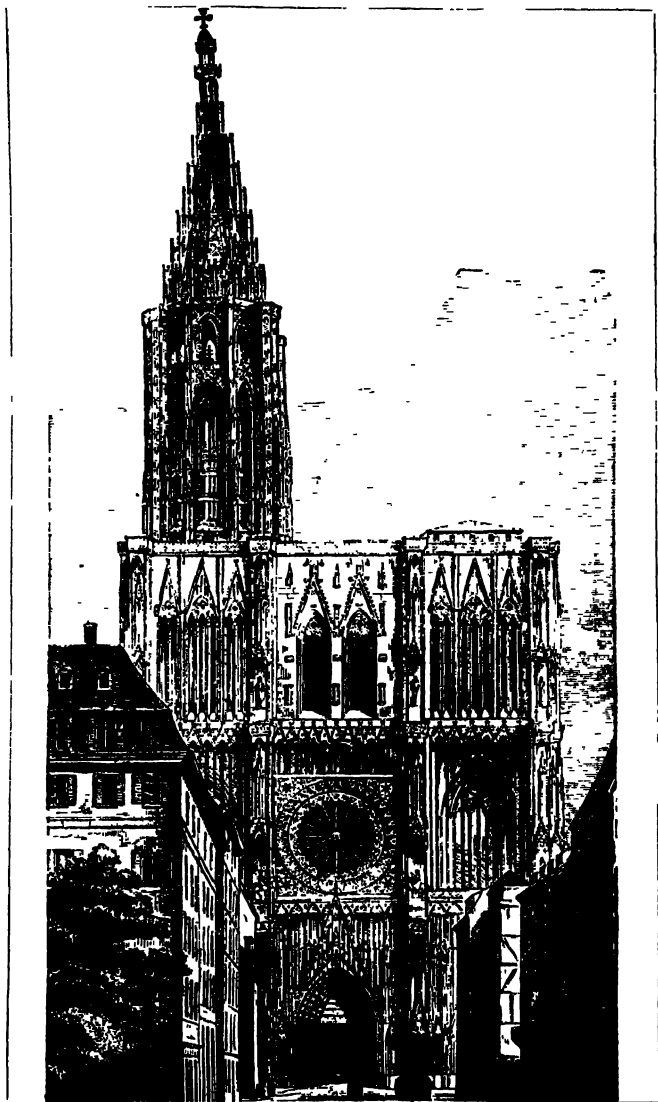
It would be unprofitable to attempt to describe Roman ceremonies or the religious life of a Roman Catholic. The ceremonies can be seen in almost any town, the religious life can be judged to a certain extent by that of persons known to most readers. As a general rule, it may be said that religion suffers in the Roman Church by the use of prayers in a dead language as regards the mass of the people, although translations are used by many; repetitions and mechanical services count for too much; and the devotion of the unlearned to the Virgin Mary and to the saints verges on practical polytheism, or at any rate on belief in a multiplicity of spirits more or less powerful. The idea of the repeated sacrifice of the mass, the peculiarities of priestly absolution, the Papal Syllabus and infallibility, the granting of indulgences, and the discord between Romanism and the great movements of the age are among the points in which it is most open to criticism, and, according to Protestants, to reprobation.

It has been estimated that there are 155 millions of Roman Catholics in Europe, eight millions in Asia, two-and-a-half millions in Africa, 52 millions in America, and half a million in Australia and Oceania; in all, 218 millions. But in this estimate 35 millions are assigned to France, a large estimate, considering the antagonism to the Church on the part of so many Frenchmen. Over 21 millions are put down to Spain and Portugal, 20 millions to Austria Hungary, 16 millions to Germany, and 26 millions to Italy.

The main administrative functions of the papacy are discharged by groups or committees of cardinals, forming congregations, with prelates and other distinguished ecclesiastics and officials appointed by the pope. That of the Consistory supervises affairs of church buildings, bishops, etc.; that of the Holy Office of the Inquisition endeavours to extirpate heresies,

**Number of
Roman
Catholics.**

**The Roman
Congrega-
tions.**



STRASBURG CATHEDRAL.

to put down blasphemies, and many other crimes, and in theory claims universal jurisdiction; that of Bishops and Regulars looks after the government of monasteries and their differences with bishops; that of the Index examines newly-published books reported to be contrary to faith or morals, and publishes at intervals a list of prohibited books; that of the Propaganda, more correctly *De Propaganda Fide*, manages foreign missions, and supervises a college at Rome for training missionaries. The total number of Roman bishoprics is nearly 1,100.

The Missal is the most important Roman service book. Including traditional matter derived from the early Roman service books. Church and early popes, especially Gregory I., it was thoroughly revised after the Council of Trent, and issued in 1570; it has since been revised more than once. It includes (1) the Mass services for Sundays, and (2) the Masses for saints' days and festivals. The Breviary, issued in a revised form in 1568 and brought into its present shape in 1631, contains prayers, psalms, hymns, Scripture lessons and comments by the Fathers, for every day of the year, together with narratives about the saints and martyrs, thus forming a complete manual of devotion. There are appropriate services for each "Hour" proper for service, there being matins, lauds (3 a.m.), Prime (6 a.m.), tierce (9 a.m.), sext (noon), nones (3 p.m.), vespers (6 p.m.), and compline (midnight). Of great importance also are the *Roman Ritual*, or book of priests' rites, and corresponding books for bishops and for papal ceremonies.

The "Old Catholic" movement began in a revulsion from the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Being called upon by the Archbishop of Munich to submit to this dogma, Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger, one of the most learned men of this century, rector of the University of Munich in 1871-72, declined, on the ground that the Vatican decrees were inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel and the clear teaching of Christ and the Apostles, and contradict the genuine traditions of the Church. He was excommunicated on April 17th, 1871, and the same sentence was passed on his colleagues Friedrich and

others. They were followed in their dissent by one hundred congregations in the German Empire, centring in Munich and Bonn. In 1873 they formed a separate Church with legal status, and Professor Joseph Reinkens was elected bishop by clergy and people, and was consecrated by the Jansenist bishop Heykamp of Deventer. At a congress at Constance, a synodal and parochial system was adopted, in which the laity are represented equally with the clergy. At first taking their stand on the Tridentine standards, they have somewhat progressed towards Protestantism. Bishop Reinkens, in his address to the Old Catholic Council at Constance, inculcated the reading of the Bible as the means of the most intimate communion with God. In a letter addressed to a Protestant assembly they strongly asserted their desire to establish a union of



ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, PHILANTHROPIST (1576-1660).

all Christians by means of a really œcumenical council. A Conference was held at Bonn in 1874 between leading Old Catholics, orthodox Russians and Greeks, English and American Episcopalians, and various Lutherans and Protestants, which agreed to fourteen theses advocating the reading of the Bible and the Liturgy in the vernacular, asserting that salvation is not gained by merit, but by faith working

Theses of
Union
Conference.

by love, and that the doctrine of works of supererogation is untenable, that the number of seven sacraments was first fixed in the twelfth century, allowing the authoritative value of the tradition of the undivided Church, and the unbroken episcopal succession of the Anglican Church, rejecting the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and that of the sacrifice of the Mass, acknowledging the Eucharist only as the permanent representation and presentation on earth of



ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, PREACHER (1567-1622).

Christ's sacrifice, allowing confession and absolution and prayers for the dead, but limiting the granting of indulgences to penalties imposed by the Church. A fourth conference in 1875 adopted a form of agreement on the Filioque clause, granting much to the Greek Church, and agreeing that "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son." Pope Pius IX. meanwhile had excommunicated all

these "sons of perdition," and termed Bishop Reinkens' address "impious and most impudent."

A distinct Swiss Synod of Old Catholics has been formed, and Edward Herzog was elected first bishop, **Swiss Old Catholics** and consecrated by Bishop Reinkens in 1876. The Old Catholics of Switzerland are more radical and anti-papal than those of Germany.

We cannot but note that the Roman Church has been greatly influenced by Protestantism, in spite of itself. This can only be properly estimated by comparing the Church as it was in the time of Wyclif and Huss with its present state. The abuses and evils then existing have to a large extent disappeared, many doctrines are more simply taught, the poor are far better looked after, and great skill is displayed in adapting the Church to the local circumstances of each country. To a large extent the Roman Catholic clergy are in the van of social and philanthropic movements. But the doctrines of papal infallibility and of Mariolatry must place a permanent barrier between the Roman Church and those who are in touch with Protestantism or with modern science.





CHAPTER XII.

The Lutheran, Reformed, and Presbyterian

Lutheran Church—Melancthon's Apology—Luther's Catechisms—Articles of Smalcald—The Philippists—Form of Concord—Lutheran Church organization—Calvin—His "Institutes"—Teaching on Predestination and the Lord's Supper—Calvin's Church government—Calvin and Servetus—Second Helvetic Confession—The Helvetic Consensus—The Swiss Reformed Churches—The Heidelberg Catechism—John Knox—The Scotch Reformation—Scotch Confession—The National Covenant—The Westminster Assembly—The Westminster Confession—The Westminster Catechisms—Patronage—The Cameronians—Reformed Presbyterians—United Presbyterian Church—Free Church of Scotland—Presbyterian Worship—Government—Dutch Reformed Church—The Belgic Confession—Arminius—Synod of Dort—Reformation in France—Gallican Confession—Edict of Nantes—Revocation of Edict—Modern French Protestantism—The Reformed Churches of Hungary.

THE Lutheran Church, more properly the Protestant Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, due to the labours of Luther, his comrades and **Lutheran Church.** followers, is predominant in Prussia, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and many German principalities, in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, in Finland, Livonia, and some other Russian provinces; while the Lutherans are numerous in the United States, in Hungary and France. They are estimated at more than forty millions.

The Augsburg Confession of 1530 is the basis of the Lutheran Church. In 1530-31 Melanchthon wrote a much longer and very learned "Apology" in **Melanchthon's** answer to the Roman Catholic "Refutation," **Apology.** accepted in 1530 by the Emperor and the Diet; it has high value as the interpretation of the Augsburg Confession by its author, and was embodied in the Book of Concord, 1580. In 1540 Melanchthon published, with an improved edition of the Apology, a modified form of the Augsburg Confession, known as the Altered or *Variata* edition, containing modified views on absolute predestination, and on the Real Presence, tending towards the views of the Swiss Reformers, and laying more stress on the necessity of repentance and good works. It was adopted by several Lutheran conferences, and taught in many Lutheran Churches and schools; but after 1560 it was attacked by strict Lutherans, while the followers of Melanchthon approached nearer to the Calvinists. This is but one of many controversies in the Lutheran Church about the middle of the sixteenth century. Luther's views remained predominant, especially as given **Luther's** in his Longer and Shorter Catechisms of 1539. **Catechisms.** The latter especially has become a sort of second Bible for the German Lutherans. In 1531 Luther added a section on confession and absolution, to which he attached much importance. "True absolution," he says, "instituted in the Gospel by Christ, affords comfort and support against sin and an evil conscience. Confession or absolution shall by no means be abolished in the Church, but be retained, especially on account of weak or timid consciences, and also on account of untutored youth, in order

that they may be examined and instructed in the Christian doctrine. But the enumeration of sins should be free to every one, to enumerate or not such as he wishes." He also added some short family prayers, a table of duties in Scripture language, and marriage and baptismal manuals.

The next important Lutheran Confession (Articles of Smalcald, 1537) was intended as a basis for discussion at the Council which afterwards met at Trent. **Articles of Smalcald.** The articles were prepared by Luther, and couched in aggressive terms against the mass, purgatory, the invocation of saints, monasticism, and popery. The mass is denounced as "the greatest and most horrible abomination"; purgatory as a "satanic delusion"; and the Pope as Antichrist, having no conscience, and caring only about gold, honour, and power. Melancthon wrote an appendix, in which he admitted that the pope, "if he would admit the Gospel," might be allowed to exercise, by human right, his present jurisdiction over bishops; but at the same time refuting powerfully the divine right of the pope over bishops, and his right to temporal power. The assembly of Smalcald resolved not to send any delegates to the Papal Council.

The theological differences between Luther and Melancthon, which grew more marked after this, did not break their friendship, though Melancthon approached the Calvinists very considerably. Luther died in 1546, Melancthon in 1560; but the latter did not attempt to found a Church of his own. The strict Lutherans, after Luther's death, made his doctrines more rigid, and tended to make Lutheranism a narrow sect. The followers of Melancthon, who were termed Philippists. **The Philippists.** (from his Christian name) and Crypto-calvinists, maintained the right of progressive development in theology, and desired to enlarge the basis of Lutheranism. The Lutherans exalted Luther almost to apostolic rank. In the Preface to the Magdeburg Confession, 1550, Luther is termed "the third Elijah," "the prophet of God," and his doctrine the doctrine of Christ. The Philippists had more moderation and reasonableness. Numerous contro-

versies as to the mode of regarding original sin, man's freedom in relation to the converting grace of God, justification by faith, good works, the Eucharist, Hades, etc., made Germany a camp of theologians. At last Andreae, Professor of Theology at Tübingen, Martin Chemnitz, Melanchthon's greatest pupil, and Nicholas Selnecker, also a Melanchthonian, after a long series of conferences, secured the adoption of "The Form of Con- **Form of**
cord," 1577, published with the Augsburg and **Concord.**
other Lutheran creeds, in the "Book of Concord," 1580. It embodies a series of concessions of the disputing parties, mainly deferring to Luther's authority, and states his doctrines of the total depravity of man and of his will, of salvation only by God's grace, with no co-operation of the human will, of justification by Christ's imputed righteousness, consubstantiation and the ubiquity of Christ's body; while dropping his view of absolute predestination and recognising the universality of the offer of divine grace. It goes into and decides many questions utterly beyond the power of man to decide, and did not attain anything like the authority of the Augsburg Confession. It was, however, adopted in most of the German Lutheran States, in Sweden, Hungary, and generally in the United States. A number of principalities afterwards adhered mainly to the Reformed or Zwinglian doctrine. The Form of Concord produced more controversy than it settled; and its doctrines were ably assailed by Cardinal Bellarmine. It is now regarded by many as almost dead, or at least not representing what would now be unitedly accepted.

Following the separatist organisation of Germany, the Lutheran Church does not form one strong body even in Germany, but consists of separate and independent Churches in each principality. These Churches have one common character—they dispense with episcopacy, and are governed by councils (consistories) including both clergy and laymen appointed by the civil rulers, with very varied plans of Church discipline. The growth of the Reformed Churches, with their antagonism to Lutheranism, greatly

**Lutheran
Church
organi-
sation.**

weakened Protestantism in the seventeenth century. Many efforts were made to unite them under one government, and at last this was effected in Prussia, Nassau, Baden, and Hesse (1817-1823), thus forming a "Church Union," in which each congregation adopts either the Augsburg or the Heidelberg Confession. In Prussia a considerable number of Lutherans separated from the main Church in consequence of this union, and took the title of "Old Lutherans." In Prussia, Wurtemberg, Hesse, and Oldenburg the Protestant element prevails, with from 23 to 33 per cent. of Roman Catholics. In Saxony and eighteen minor German States the people are almost all Protestants. Various movements in recent years have been termed "New Lutheranism," partly tending to revive pure Lutheranism, partly approximating to the Church of Rome, and to higher interest in ceremony and its surroundings, partly tending in a rationalistic direction. In Norway, Sweden, and Denmark the Lutheran Church is governed by bishops. In America there are numerous synods, some of which have united to form "Unions" or Conferences; but not a little diversity of opinion or doctrine prevails among them, preventing the union of all the Lutheran Churches.

The services of the Lutheran Church, while allowing considerable place to extemporaneous prayer, are largely in accord with that of the Church of England. The singing of psalms and hymns, in which Lutheranism is rich, forms a prominent element. Preaching occupies a position of prime importance.

After Zwingli, the greatest name in the Swiss Reformed Church is that of John Calvin, a Frenchman born in Picardy in 1509, educated in the Universities of Orleans, Bourges, and Paris, and already remarkable for his classical and general literary knowledge, when, at the age of 23, he was suddenly converted to the evangelical doctrines. So powerful was his character, that in a year he had become the leader of the Protestant party in France. But the authorities began to persecute the Reformers, twenty-four being burnt in the winter of

1534-5; and Calvin had to wander from place to place. At Poitiers, in 1534, he with a few friends celebrated the Lord's Supper in a cave, known as Calvin's cave, according to the evangelical rite. In 1536 he published at Basle the first edition of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," attacking the Romish errors from the Reformed standpoint, and setting forth the special doctrines of Calvinism. During the same year, while Calvin was passing through Geneva, William Farel, a prominent Reformer, detained him, and charged him to undertake the work of the Lord in Geneva. Calvin complied with the entreaties of Farel and other Reformers, and began preaching and lecturing on divinity; and before the end of 1536 a plan of Church government had been drawn up, which was sanctioned by the civic authorities in 1537. The system thus introduced proved too stringent, and Calvin and Farel were expelled from Geneva (Easter, 1538). Calvin spent the next three years teaching and preaching at Strasburg, where he wrote several works which Luther valued, and became an intimate friend of Melancthon. Their affection was most touchingly expressed by Calvin after Melancthon's death. "A hundred times, worn out with fatigue and overwhelmed with care, thou didst lay thy head upon my breast and say, 'Would to God that I might die here, on thy breast.' And I, a thousand times since then, have earnestly desired that it had been granted us to be together." Calvin was recalled triumphantly to Geneva in 1541, where he lived ascetically for the remaining twenty-three years of his life, the virtual head of the Church and Republic of Geneva. His labours in writing, teaching, interviews, councils, etc., were enormous. At his death, his able successor was Theodore Beza.

Calvin, whom Renan characterises as "the most Christian man of his generation," had a more powerful influence than Zwingli in moulding the final form of the Calvin's Reformed Churches. His "Institutes" is both *Institutes*. a literary and a theological masterpiece. Its first section deals with theology (the knowledge of God), the second with Christology, the third with soteriology (the salvation of man through the work of the Holy Spirit), the fourth

with the Church and the sacraments. It is most original on the doctrines of predestination and the Lord's Supper. His teaching on the former is, that part of the human race, **Predestin- without any merit of their own, are elected to**
ation. holiness and salvation, and part are doomed to eternal death for sin. "Adam fell, God's providence having so ordained it; yet he fell by his own guilt;" and although Calvin felt this to be a horrible doctrine, yet he believed it was so clearly supported by Scripture that he had no choice but to believe it, although it involved the damnation of multitudes of little children. Much of Calvin's argument was based on the ninth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans. One of his great objects was the uprooting of all human pride in free will or in voluntary efforts, and the strengthening of gratitude and courage in "the elect." The Calvinistic doctrine was carried by Beza and others into a "supralapsarian" extreme, making every particular man before the fall, or before creation, the object of election, either to salvation or damnation; but the "infralapsarian" view has been incorporated in all Calvinistic confessions, namely, that man fell and became condemned by his own voluntary sin, rejecting the view that God has decreed the existence of sin. This is essentially the view adopted in the Swiss, the French, the Scotch, the Dutch, and the Westminster Confessions; while the English Thirty-nine Articles, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the other German Reformed confessions expound only the positive side of the doctrine, namely, the fore-election of all who believe, without asserting the damnation by election of unbelievers.

As to the Lord's Supper, while rejecting all materialistic conceptions of the presence of Christ's body and blood, **The Lord's Calvin went beyond Zwingli in asserting a**
Supper. spiritual presence and reception of Christ's body and blood, giving to believers by faith the benefit of Christ's sacrifice on the cross and the vivifying influence of His glorified humanity in heaven; unbelievers who might partake, he said, received only bread and wine. This doctrine was accepted in all the leading Reformed confessions.

Calvin's Commentaries on the Bible have furnished a rich store of matter to theologians. He was not so rigid in his view of the inspiration of the Bible as many of his followers have been. His idea of the Church was a vigorous and living one, but very different from that of Romanism. The Church was to exercise rigid discipline over its members, to maintain self-government independently of the State, and to be governed largely by lay-representatives. According to him all ministers were equal, though he did not object to the retention of episcopacy in England. In his idea of the independence of the Church, he really aimed at the Church and the State being but two branches of Divine order, complementary and useful to each other.

The most unpleasing features in Calvin's character and actions are those in which the rigidity of his principles, and his consistency in carrying them out to their logical conclusion, led him to sanction acts now universally condemned. The case of Servetus is the worst. Servetus was a brilliant young physician and man of learning, who had anticipated some of Harvey's discoveries about the circulation of the blood; but his intellectual analysis of the Christian faith led him to publish a book in 1553, "*Christianismi Restitutio*," in which he aimed at restoring it to its pristine purity. He regarded the doctrine of the Trinity as involving tritheism and leading to atheism; he believed in a Trinity of manifestation only. He was passionately devoted to the person of Christ, was an Anabaptist, and strongly relied on the Bible as his authority. Servetus had already been condemned to be burnt in France, but escaped to Geneva, where he was accused, under Calvin's influence, of blasphemy and erroneous teaching. When brought to trial, Servetus used strong expressions against the right of the civil power to decide in matters of faith; and he also announced further opinions tending in a pantheistic direction. Calvin approved of his being condemned to death, though he wished him not to be burnt. But his death by fire took place, to the great discredit of Calvin and Geneva, on October 27th, 1553. This event, however,

is a mark of the vehemence of belief with which the theology of reform as well as that of conservatism was held at that time. It is not fair to judge the Genevese Reformers by the more enlightened views which now prevail. The right of private judgment, often claimed as a signal property of Protestantism, was but a slowly-evolved product. If the standards adopted by the Church, whether Roman or Reformed, were true, every other view was evil, and ought to be condemned and suppressed: for was it not right to suppress the false, wrong to allow its propagation? So men argued then.

After Calvin's death, the first important Reformed Creed, or Confession, was the "Second Helvetic," published in 1566, drawn up by Henry Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich, and adopted or approved by nearly all the Reformed Churches on the Continent, as well as in England and Scotland. It is very long and theological, but well deserves the study of theologians. In many points it is more liberal in its statements than Calvin or Luther. It rejects priesthood, priestcraft, and priestly exclusive control of the Church. Among the duties of the civil power it includes punishment of blasphemers and incorrigible heretics, if they are really heretics.

The last general Swiss Confession is that known as the Helvetic Consensus of 1675, which was abandoned in about half a century, in consequence of the criticism caused by its extreme character. It was to counteract several modifications of teaching introduced by professors in the theological academy of Saumur in France, La Place, Cappel, and Amyrant. Cappel had taught that the perfect inspiration claimed for every particular of the Hebrew scriptures could not be held, for the system of vowel-points was due to late Jewish grammarians; and that the different readings must be consulted in order to fully understand the text. The new Helvetic Consensus insisted on the literal inspiration of the Scriptures and the traditional Hebrew text, vowels as well as consonants. This doctrine, held in its extreme form by some persons to-day, has led to violent reaction, and has

partly led to the modern study of the Scriptures by every method of common sense, historical and archæological study, and literary criticism. Amyraut had taught that God foreordained and desired universal salvation, but through faith in Christ as a condition, foreknowing and foreordaining however that many men would reject it. The Helvetic Consensus denied that the call to salvation was ever absolutely general, asserting that Christ died only for the elect, and not indiscriminately for all men. Man was naturally as well as morally unable to believe the gospel of himself. Against La Place of Saumur the Consensus affirmed, not only the condemnation of all Adam's posterity as a consequence of his sin (mediate imputation), but also the direct or immediate imputation of his sin to all his descendants, as if they had themselves committed it. It cannot be wondered at that sharp reaction and rebellion against such teaching took place.

For a long time religious divisions, and reaction towards Catholicism, were prominent in Swiss religious history. At present the majority (over a million and a half) of the inhabitants belong to the Reformed Church, under the control to a certain extent of the authorities in each canton. Calvin's system of mixed lay and ministerial government is adopted, but every citizen has full liberty of conscience and creed, and can incur no penalties for his religious opinions.

**The Swiss
Reformed
Churches.**

We have only space to notice the most famous product of the Reformed Churches of Germany, the Heidelberg Catechism, published in 1563, the joint work of Ursinus (Baer) and Olevianus (Olewig), at the command of Frederick III., Elector of the Palatinate. It is acknowledged as a most able and in many ways attractive production. It was translated into many languages, and used by Churches in many lands. It is unlike many others in its first question, which is, "What is thy only comfort in life and in death?" The answer is: "That in soul and body, whether I live or die, I am not mine own, but I belong unto my most faithful Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ: who by His precious blood, most fully satisfying for all my sins, hath

**The
Heidelberg
Catechism.**

delivered me from the whole power of the devil ; and doth so preserve me, that without the will of my heavenly Father, not so much as a hair can fall from my head : yea, all things are made to serve for my salvation. Wherefore by His Spirit also, He assureth me of everlasting life, and maketh me ready and prepared, that henceforth I may live unto Him." On many points the extreme forms of Calvin's doctrines are modified ; and several parts are



regarded as gems of theological statement. It presents the doctrines of Calvinism in a comforting, not a forbidding aspect.

Travelling further from Geneva, we find Calvin's teaching carried to Scotland by his pupil John Knox ;
John Knox. but already Lutheran students and converts had been martyred in Scotland when Knox, ordained a Romish priest in 1530, became converted to Reformed doctrines by study of the Bible and the writings

of Augustine and Jerome. He denounced the mass as an abominable idolatry and profanation of the Lord's Supper, and the pope as the "man of sin" and "Antichrist." After some years' work as a reformer in England (1549-1554), where he became one of Edward VI.'s chaplains, he spent some years with Calvin at Geneva, which he called "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was since the days of the apostles." Knox returned to Scotland in 1559, and largely under his influence Parliament ^{The Scotch} abolished the Roman Catholic worship and the ^{Reformation.} rule of the pope, adopted a Confession of Faith drawn up mainly by Knox and others, and later adopted a Book of Discipline prepared by them.

The Scotch Confession of 1560, in twenty-five articles, is a vigorous statement of the reformed doctrines, distinctly Calvinistic in tone, yet with great ^{Scotch} breadth of view and moderation (for instance, ^{Confession.} those who may note in the articles anything contrary to God's Word are begged in the preface to give information of it to the authors, who will either prove their case or reform the articles). No particular form of Church government or worship is laid down ("not that we think that one policy and one order of ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as ceremonies, such as men have devised, are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed, when they rather foster superstition than edify the Church using the same"). Knox prepared a form of liturgy ("Book of Common Order"), following the Genevan, which was approved by the General Assembly of the Scotch Church, in 1564, and long used. The Scotch aversion to liturgy is of later date, when Laud tried to force English episcopacy and liturgy upon Scotland.

The struggle of the Reformation in Scotland includes many interesting features. One, which strikingly illustrates the strength of the reaction against the ^{The National} papacy, is the "National Covenant," drawn up ^{Covenant.} in 1580 by John Craig, endorsing the Confession of 1560, but fiercely repudiating all "Papistry." It especially denounces the "usurped tyranny of the Roman Anti-

christ upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the civil magistrate, and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things," with much more about the evils censured by Protestants.

The "Westminster Assembly," which drew up the



KNOX'S PULPIT.

celebrated "Confession," was intended by the Long Parliament to frame a code of doctrine, worship, and discipline for the three kingdoms. The members were all nominated by Parliament, except those chosen by the General Assembly of

the Scotch Church; and it would have included many representatives of the Episcopal Church if they would have attended. As a matter of fact, those who actually attended were mostly Presbyterians, though nearly all in episcopal orders; but they formed two divisions, one regarding Presbyterian government as lawful, but based on human right, and liable to change if desirable; the other considering it as based on Divine right, and instituted in the New Testament as the only and unchangeable form of Church government. The Assembly sat from 1643 to 1649. The "Confession" was completed in December, 1646, and adopted by the Scotch General Assembly in 1647, the Scotch Parliament endorsing it in 1649. It follows very considerably the lines of the Anglican Articles of Religion, giving them a Calvinistic completeness and fuller logical statement. It declares that there is in the Bible a full and intelligible scheme of salvation, and that nothing is to be added thereto, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men. Scripture is only to be interpreted by Scripture, and "the Holy Spirit speaking in Scripture" is to settle all religious controversies. The Old and New Testaments are declared to be "immediately inspired by God, and by His singular care and providence kept pure in all ages," and they are therefore "authentic." The chapters on the Trinity and on the person of Christ follow closely the lines of the Nicene and Chalcedon Councils. As to predestination, it adopts, not the supralapsarian but the infralapsarian view, which it states very fully and clearly, the fall being permitted only, and God being declared neither the author nor approver of sin. It grants the freedom of the human will in these terms, "God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined, to good or evil." The doctrine of "covenants" made by God with man is introduced: (1) of works, made with Adam and his posterity on condition of perfect and personal obedience, (2) of grace through Christ, offered under the Law by forms and ordinances all typifying Christ, and under the

Gospel, by the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. This idea of covenants, developed by various divines, was mainly of sixteenth-century growth. Salvation by Christ is clearly set forth on evangelical lines; "the Son of God, the Second Person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one substance and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of time was come, take upon Him man's nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof, yet without sin; . . . so that two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion." A very sweeping clause is found in the chapter on repentance, which has contributed very considerably to strengthen Scotch severity and austerity. "*As there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation, so there is no sin so great that it can bring damnation upon those who truly repent.*" The great strength of the latter clause has sometimes been obscured by the terrors of the former.

The doctrine of the Sacraments in the Westminster Confession is that of the Calvinistic and of the Anglican Churches, at least before modern High Church developments. Baptism is declared to be not so inseparable from salvation, that no person can be saved without it, or that all baptised persons are regenerate. The Lord's Supper is no sacrifice, but a commemoration, and there is no change of the substance of the elements. An elaborate description is given of what is lawful in public worship, corresponding to Presbyterian practice. The proper observation of the "Christian Sabbath" is defined as "an holy rest all the day from men's own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations." The whole time is to be taken up in public and private worship and in duties of necessity and mercy. Another particular in which the Westminster Confession seems to contravene its own principle of liberty of conscience, is when it allows that persons who publish opinions against the civil or the ecclesiastical power, or



ST. GILES'S CHURCH, EDINBURGH : INTERIOR.

maintain such practices as are contrary to the light of nature or the known principles of Christianity, concerning faith, worship, or conversation, or destructive of peace and order in the Church, may be proceeded against by the censures of the Church or the power of the civil magistrate. The latter may see that unity and peace are kept, blasphemies and heresies suppressed, corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and may call synods and be present at them. These synods may determine matters of faith, conscience, and worship; but all synods and councils may err, and many have erred; as also, the purest Churches are subject both to mixture and error.

The Confession acknowledges no intermediate state; the souls of the righteous return to God, into the "highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day." At the day of judgment "all persons that have lived upon earth, shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their thoughts, words, and deeds." The righteous will then enter into everlasting life; the wicked into eternal torments.

In addition to the Confession, the Assembly prepared two Catechisms, a Longer and a Shorter, the latter more especially for children, though containing much **The Westminster Catechisms.** matter which many consider unsuitable for the young. The Apostles' Creed is only contained in the shorter form, as an appendix, with a caution that it was not composed by the Apostles, nor to be received as though it were canonical scripture. The Larger Catechism is especially minute in its specification of what is commanded and forbidden in the Ten Commandments. Many regard the Shorter Catechism as better than Luther's or the Heidelberg; and its adoption by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and many Baptists, in Great Britain, America, and elsewhere, proves its adaptation to their beliefs.

Meanwhile the Church of Scotland had been settled, not altogether to the liking of Knox and the other reformers, on a basis of lay patronage of benefices, and of considerable governmental control. **Patronage.** Lay patronage was abolished in 1649, restored in 1660, abolished again in 1690, restored in 1712, and again abolished in 1874. During the first 130 years of its history the Scotch Church went through so many mutations and trials that it is quite impossible to record them here. From 1662 to 1689 Presbyterianism only existed in opposition to the Government, which re-established Episcopacy. On the accession of William III., it again became the national Church, though with much Government control. In the eighteenth century a series of schisms began, due chiefly to the ignoring of the wishes of congregations in the appointment of ministers. The first separation was that of the Cameronians, really the continuing remnant of the Covenanters of 1643, **The** who rejected all interference of the State with **Cameronians** religion. They organised a Church early in the eighteenth century, and in 1743 formed the "Reformed Presbytery." In 1859 there were six presbyteries, containing **Reformed** 36 ministers. In 1876 they had 7,500 mem-**Presbyterians** bers, and still maintained the binding force of the National Covenant. In that year they amalgamated with the Free Church of Scotland. There is still a residual body known as "Auld Lights," or Original Seceders, who stick to the Covenants and protest against the defections of modern times.

The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, formed in 1847, is the result of the union of two Churches, the "United Secession," dating formally from 1820, **United** but in its elements from 1732, and the "Relief **Presbyterian** Church," which had been formed after the **Church** deposition of Thomas Gillespie by the Established Church in 1752. The United Presbyterians believe in free communion with other Churches, and Church independence of the State, and reject all compulsory or persecuting or intolerant teachings of the Westminster Confession. Ministers of congregations are chosen by the members;

but they are ordained by imposition of hands by the presbytery.

The Free Church of Scotland was formed in 1843 as the result of a legal decision that the Established Church **Free Church of Scotland.** General Assembly could not prevent the intrusion on unwilling congregations of ministers appointed by lay patrons. This, with other interferences of the State with the Church, so moved the Scotch people that 474 ministers with a great part of their congregations left the Establishment and formed a Free Church, abandoning their endowments but no religious tenet. Thus we have in Scotland the spectacle of three powerful Churches professing almost precisely similar tenets; and since the passing of the Scotch Patronage Act in 1874 the original question on which they split has been greatly reduced in force. We must only mention that Presbyterianism is strong in the United States, Canada, and North Ireland, and has very considerable strength in England.

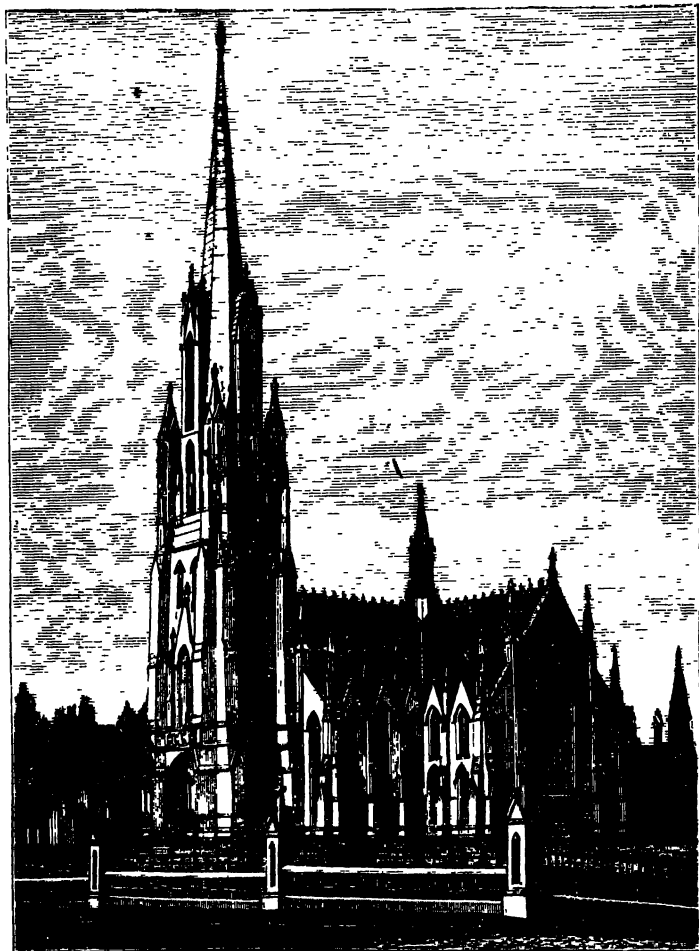
We need say little, in conclusion, about Presbyterian forms of worship, which are extremely simple, including **Presbyterian worship.** the reading of portions of Scripture, extemporaneous prayers (often carefully prepared), the singing of psalms and hymns, and a sermon, usually long. Of late years some Presbyterian Churches have adopted choirs and organs, long strictly proscribed and condemned. The minister wears the black Genevan gown and white bands. All signs and symbols which may be supposed to indicate superstition are eschewed; and so far is this carried, that the Lord's Supper is received sitting, either in pews or at long tables. The Churches are **Government.** governed by elders, the minister or teaching elder administering "the word" and the sacraments, with a number of "ruling elders" to assist him in the inspection and government of the congregation, and deacons to attend to its financial business. These constitute the "Kirk" or church session; above this is the presbytery of a district, including all the ministers and one elder from each Kirk session; the Synod consists of the members of several presbyteries. The General Assembly

includes representatives of all the presbyteries in the Church. In late years there have been numerous movements of liberalism, some tending to rationalism, in the Presbyterian Churches, and much more latitude has been allowed in the interpretation of the confessions, and in speculation and criticism on theological matters.

The Dutch Reformed Church sprang from early study of the Scriptures by professors such as Gansevoort and Agricola, in the fifteenth century, and even more from the tyranny and persecution of the Spanish power in league with the Inquisition. Dutch Reformed Church. Two Augustinian monks, Henry Voes and John Esch, were burnt in Brussels in 1523; and the succeeding martyr-roll in the Netherlands was longer than that of any other Protestant Church. The Belgic Confession was drawn up in 1561, mainly by Guido de Brès, who in 1567, at the age of twenty-seven, was hung for his Protestantism; it was adopted at a synod at Antwerp in 1566, and finally at the famous Synod of Dort, in 1619. It follows in the main the French Confession of 1559, but is fuller and less polemical. The Belgic Confession.

The most interesting controversy in the Dutch Church was that which was decided (though not settled) by the Synod of Dort. James Arminius (1560-1609), a student under Beza at Geneva, professor of theology at Leyden (1603), saw reason to moderate several of the Calvinistic doctrines; and his views were adopted by his successor Episcopius, and by John van Barneveldt and Hugo Grotius. The Arminians set forth their views in five Articles in 1610, under the name of "Remonstrance;" the Calvinists put forward a Counter-Remonstrance. The Synod of Dort was summoned to decide between them, and met from Nov. 13, 1618, to May 9, 1619. It included, besides a majority of Dutch divines, representatives from the Anglican, Swiss, and German Reformed Churches. The Remonstrants were in a great minority, and Calvinism triumphed, followed by the deposition of about 200 Arminian clergymen, and the arrest of Grotius and Barneveldt, and their condemnation by the State. The points asserted by the Arminius. Synod of Dort.

Arminians will be mentioned in the next chapter. The defeated party gradually declined in Holland; but their



PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND.

doctrines were renewed by the Methodists, and also widely adopted in the Anglican Church. The Canons of Dort

represented the victory of a narrow orthodoxy and scholasticism; but a more liberal and even rationalising tone gradually spread widely in the Dutch Church.

The history of the Reformation in France is one of deep interest, with many tragic details which we cannot give here. The French Church had always main- ^{Reformation} tained a certain independence of Rome, and the ^{in France.}

University of Paris had been the nursery of much theological development and of demand for reforms in the Church discipline. In 1521 the first reformed congregation was formed at Meaux, but in the same year Luther's doctrines were condemned by the Sorbonne. Martyrdoms began, and the Lutherans were generally persecuted, while Francis I. expressed himself in favour of a religious reformation, and entered into communication with the German reformers. His sister, Queen Margaret of Navarre, favoured the Reformation, but did not separate from the Roman Church. Regular congregations met for reformed worship in spite of persecution; and in 1559, a general synod, held at Paris, agreed to the French or Gallican Confession of faith, drawn up by Calvin, and revised and ^{Gallican Con-} enlarged by his pupil Antoine Chaudieu. The ^{fession.}

French reformers became known as Huguenots; and their subsequent history belongs mainly to general politics. The terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve, 1572, marked the beginning of an outburst of fanatical cruelty against them, during which over 30,000 men, women, and children were slain.

The organisation of the French Protestant Church was strictly Presbyterian, with lay elders and provincial and national synods. Deacons, however, had a more important sphere than in Scotland, the office being regarded as a preparation for the full ministry; but the congregations had comparatively little influence in Church government. The Reformation in France received another severe blow by the "conversion" of Henry IV. to Romanism in 1593; but in 1598, by the Edict of Nantes, he practically granted full liberty of conscience to the Presbyteri- ^{Edict of} ans. They, however, did not concede the same ^{Nantes.} liberty to others; and in process of time they became

more embittered against the Papal Church, and more austere in their own discipline. In 1603 they had 760 churches and 560 ministers. By the skilful management of Richelieu, their political influence diminished, and they came more and more under royal control. Their privileges were gradually restricted; they entered into close union with other Protestants, accepting the decrees of the Synod of Dort, and also holding fellowship with the Lutherans. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked. Horrible persecutions and civil wars followed, and it is estimated that several millions of Protestants left France. In the next century Presbyterianism was gradually restored by the skill of Antoine Court: persecution followed, but later tolerance gained the day. Under the Revolution Presbyterianism spread again; and in 1801-2 Napoleon framed a constitution for the Protestant Churches, under State control, abolishing the national synod and practically checking their progress. After an imperfect but continuous existence, in 1871 the consistories were authorised to elect deputies to a general synod, which met in Paris in 1872. It was soon evident that the Gallican Confession was no longer fully held by the majority; but the medium course was adopted of declaring "the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, who died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification." The Apostles' Creed, the Confession of Sins, and the Order for the Lord's Supper were also emphatically adopted. A large minority had rationalistic views, and, in the opinion of some, deserved to be called Unitarians. They asserted the right of each pastor or member to hold whatever creed he might think proper. There is also a Free Church, or Union of Evangelical Churches in France, independent of State payment or State control.

A brief note must suffice for the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Hungary, whose early establishment was due to the Waldenses and Bohemian Brethren who took refuge there.

**Revocation
of Edict.**

**Modern
French
Protestant-
ism.**

**The Reformed
Churches of
Hungary.**

Luther's writings had great influence in Hungary, and the German population have largely remained Lutherans. The Magyars were more influenced by Melancthon and Calvin, and adopted a Calvinistic Confession at the Synod of Czenzer in 1557 or 1558; this was superseded by the second Helvetic Confession of 1566, subscribed in Hungary in 1567. A Presbyterian organisation was adopted, and at the end of the sixteenth century almost all the Magyars, nobility as well as peasants, had accepted the Reformation. In the next two centuries the Jesuits and the persecutions of the Hapsburg princes brought continual disasters upon the Reformed Church; but in 1781 the Edict of Toleration secured liberty of conscience and public worship to the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and other restrictions were removed in 1848. The Protestants of Hungary number about three millions, two-thirds being of the Reformed Church.



DRONTHEIM CATHEDRAL, NORWAY.



CHAPTER XIII.

The Church of England and the Nonconformists.

Early independence of English Church—Resistance to Papacy—The Lollards—Henry VIII. and Luther—English break with Rome—Henry excommunicated—Tyndale's Bible—Later Translations—English Prayer-Books—The Thirty-nine Articles—Gradual restriction of English Church—Evangelicals—High Church and Ritualist party—Broad Churchmen—The Baptists—Mennonites—Puritans—Independents—Emigration to New England—Savoy Conference—Congregational Union—Society of Friends—Hicksite Friends—Arminianism—John Wesley—George Whitefield—Methodist Episcopacy—Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion—Welsh Calvinistic Methodists—Emanuel Swendenborg—New Church—Edward Irving—Catholic Apostolic Church—Unitarians—Socinus—Priestley—Channing—Rationalism—Agnosticism.

CLAIMING a history dating from apostolic or sub-apostolic times, Christianity in Great Britain is only partially derived from the papal mission of Augustine in 597. Very soon after the organisation of the Church by the Roman missionaries, a strong spirit of independence of Rome was found in Britain; and as early as 747 a synod of English bishops ordered that the Creed and the Lord's Prayer should be taught to the people in the vulgar tongue. We have already referred to many famous British missionaries and theologians; to these might be added many more. There was always an extensive practice of explaining the Scriptures in the vernacular, and a very moderate statement of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Anselm introduced a higher doctrine of the Eucharist,

as well as of the papal power. The power and abuses of the monastic orders and celibacy of the clergy, the exactions and oppressions of papal legates, and the claims of clerical exemption from ordinary law again and again roused the nation, and there was seldom a complete subjection of the kingdom to the Papacy, the Inquisition never having been introduced. The statute of Mortmain (1279) restrained the gifts of lands to monastic orders and the Church; the statutes of Provisors (1351) and Præmunire (1353), more strongly enacted in 1393, forbade the excessive drain of Church and monastic money to the pope, and to aliens, and papal appointments to sees and benefices. The clergy were compelled to pay taxes to the Crown; and Wyclif, in the thirteenth century, both roused the people against the corruptions of the Church, and promulgated a teaching which to a considerable extent anticipated the Reformation. His translation of the Bible could not, however, obtain wide circulation before the era of printing.

It is worth noting here how, in 1394, the Lollards (followers of Wyclif) brought forward a Bill in Parliament, setting forth such advanced views as the following: (1) that when the Church of England accepted endowments, faith, hope, and charity began to disappear, and pride and mortal sins to prevail; (2) that the priesthood, as conferred by the Church ritual, is a sham; (3) that the vow of chastity leads to sin; (4) that the pretended miracle of the sacrament leads all men, save a few, into idolatry; (5) that exorcisms and blessings of various things are practices of necromancy rather than theology; (6) prelates and clergy ought not to hold secular offices; (7) the offering of prayers for special dead persons is wrong as a foundation for almsgiving; (8) pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings to crosses and images are very near to idolatry; (9) auricular confession and absolution produce many evils. The fastening of this Bill upon the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey in 1394 anticipated by 123 years Luther's theses at Wittenberg. After this followed the cruel persecutions of the Lollards, beginning with the killing of William Sawtrey in 1401;

but this only intensified the popular dislike and the resistance to papal tyranny, which continued active during the weak reign of Henry VI., and increased during the Wars of the Roses and reign of Henry VII.

Early in the sixteenth century, the monks and monasteries were in ill repute; the clergy preached little, and **Henry VIII.** many of them lived immoral lives; the sale **and Luther.** of indulgences made the people scoff at the Church; and a reform was greatly needed, though it came about in a way which brought many evils along with it. At first, antagonism to Luther was prominent. Wolsey had Luther's books burnt at St. Paul's in 1521; and Henry VIII. wrote a book in favour of the seven sacraments and abusing Luther, who responded in a violent tone. The king was gratified by receiving from Pope Leo X. the title of Defender of the Faith, still retained by the English sovereigns. But the opinions of the Continental reformers were widely diffused in England, and prepared the way for the reforming Parliament of 1529, in which Henry compelled the clergy, besides paying **English** large sums of money in lieu of penalties for **break with** breaking the Præmunire statute, to accept his **Rome.** supremacy over the English Church, "as far as is permitted by the law of Christ," thus practically breaking with Rome. The "submission of the clergy" in 1532 granted that no new canons should be made or published without the king's consent, and that a revision of the old ones should take place. In 1533 all appeals to Rome were forbidden, as well as all papal dispensations and appointments. In 1536 the suppression of the smaller monasteries was authorised, and in 1539 that of the greater monasteries. Thus, not without bloodshed, the Church was made national, under royal supremacy, and its reform was made possible and partially accomplished without the introduction of any new doctrine beyond orthodox Romanism.

After Cranmer, in May, 1533, had pronounced the divorce of Catherine from Henry, the pope threatened to excommunicate him. Cranmer claimed an appeal from the pope to a general council. On March 23rd, 1534, the

pope proclaimed Henry's marriage with Catherine lawful, and excommunicated him. But liberal views were not enthroned in England if the pope was ^{Henry} excommunicated. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were executed in 1535 for denying the royal supremacy; Anabaptists were also burnt; and the Real Presence in the Eucharist was proclaimed as a vital doctrine.

Meanwhile William Tyndale had translated and printed



CRANMER.

on the Continent the New Testament (1526), and the Pentateuch (1530). In 1534 and Tyndale's Bible. 1535, he

issued revised editions, enlarged. In 1535 he was seized in the Netherlands, and after a year and a half's imprisonment was strangled and then burnt, on Oct. 6, 1536, under the decree of the Emperor Charles V.

In 1536, Henry VIII. obtained the approval of Convocation to his "Ten Articles," which

have been termed "popery with the pope left out." Meanwhile Coverdale's translation of the Bible

into English was published in 1535. In 1537 ^{Later} translations.

"Matthew's" Bible appeared, edited by John Rogers, mainly from Tyndale; and a copy was ordered to be set up in every church. A revised edition, the "Great" Bible, was issued in 1539; and thus a beginning was made in the popular diffusion of the Scriptures. The injunctions issued by the king's vicar-general in 1538

enjoin the reading and study of the Bible on every Christian man; and the clergy are bidden to preach, at least once every quarter, a sermon, "in which they are to declare, purely and sincerely, the very gospel of Christ, and to exhort their hearers to works of mercy and religion, and not to trust in works devised by man's fantasies, as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to images or relics, kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of bedes not understood, or in such-like superstitions." But these injunctions mark the high-water mark of the Reformation under Henry VIII., who became more bigoted and intolerant as he grew older. In 1539 he issued the "Six Articles," affirming transubstantiation on penalty of the stake, the necessity of private masses and auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, and the obligation of vows of chastity. Many were tried and punished under the Act passed in pursuance of it, and many for denying the royal supremacy in religion.

Early in Edward VI.'s reign the "Six Articles" were repealed; and Parliament, on the recommendation of the Convocation of the Church, ordered that the Communion should be administered to all persons in both kinds. In 1548-9 the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was issued in English, being really a revised translation of the best of the old Latin service books used in England, with the omission of many things strongly objected to by reformers. About the same time the marriage of the clergy was permitted by law. Later, it appeared that many were applying or adapting parts of the new service-book in a Roman sense, and injunctions to the contrary were issued. In reaction Protestant doctrines came more into favour among the people.

The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. (1552), which is substantially in force at present, was largely influenced by the progress of reforming opinions. The Order of Morning and Evening Prayer was changed; the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution were prefixed to the Lord's Prayer, with which Services had previously begun, and prayers

were added after the third collect. In the Communion Service important alterations were made; the reading of the Commandments was introduced, the name of the Virgin was omitted from special mention, the invocation of the Word and the Holy Ghost, the sign of the cross, and the mixture of water with the wine were omitted; instead of the long comprehensive Prayer of Consecration, three prayers were substituted, those for the Church Militant, of Consecration, and the first form of the Prayer after Communion; at the delivery of the elements to the communicants, the second clauses of the present form were substituted for the first clauses. In the rite of Baptism the exorcism, anointing, and triple immersion; in the Service for the Visitation of the Sick, the anointing, directions for private confessions, and for reserving portions of the elements from the public Communion; in the Burial Service, prayers for the dead, were omitted. The most important change was in the Communion Service, supporting the view that the elements had no new virtues imparted in consecration, thus allowing the full adhesion of the extreme Reformers. Forty-two Articles of Religion were agreed to and promulgated in 1552-3.

We must pass over the restoration of Romanism under Queen Mary, and the persecution and martyrdoms associated with it. In 1559 the Second Prayer-Book ^{Revised} of Edward VI. was again restored, with slight ^{Prayer-Book} alterations, one being that the clauses used in both Prayer-Books of Edward VI. in delivering the elements in the Communion were combined as at present in use. Several minor alterations went counter to the desires of the Puritans, especially in restoring some ceremonies and vestments.

In 1563 the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI. were revised and amended, and condensed into Thirty-nine. They have been the subject of an astonishing ^{The} variety of interpretation and latitude of sub- ^{Thirty-nine} scription, some representing them as mainly ^{Articles.} Lutheran, others reading into them much of the theology of the Council of Trent; Calvinists finding in them substantially their own creed, whilst those possessing a much

less positive and dogmatic belief than any of these have been content to subscribe them. We will briefly state their effect, mainly following Dr. Schaff's analysis as that of a competent outside judge. The Articles are Catholic as to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, agreeing with all the Protestants of the Reform period; indeed, these are partly given in the words of two Lutheran confessions, the Augsburg and the Wurtemberg; they are Augustinian on free-will, sin, and grace, agreeing with the Continental Reformers; they are Protestant and Evangelical, in rejecting the errors and abuses of the Roman Church, and teaching the doctrines as to Scripture and tradition, justification, faith and good works, and the number of sacraments, held in common by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin; they are moderately Calvinistic as to predestination and the Lord's Supper: they are Erastian¹ in teaching the close union of Church and State, and the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. Article XXXVI., in reference to the Prayer-Book and orders, being purely Anglican and Episcopalian, has always been opposed by the Puritans. The Articles have been adopted by the American Episcopal Church, with the omission of the Athanasian Creed from Article VIII., and modifications applicable to the separation of Church and State.

The "Bishops' " Bible, issued under Archbishop Parker, in 1568, not being entirely satisfactory, a committee of divines was appointed to draw up a new translation, which was published in 1611, and has ever since been recognised as a masterly work. It was revised in 1870-1885, by a commission containing representatives of Nonconformists as well as

**Bishops',
Authorised,**

¹ Thomas Erastus, 1524-1583, author of a treatise on the power of excommunication, advocated the infliction of penalties by the civil magistrate, not by the Church, and regarded it as out of place for the Church to excommunicate. But it became the popular idea that he maintained the power of the magistrate over the conscience of individuals, and the subjection of all religious bodies to State regulation and control. Thus the term Erastian is identified with the control of the Church by the State, and with the principle of Established Churches.

American divines; but the revised translation has not yet been "authorised" for use in churches.

Without following the stormy history of the English Church in the seventeenth century, it may be said that nearly all alterations, though comparatively slight, were in an anti-Puritan direction, with strict State control. The attitude of the Royal Government and of the Church authorities became such, that at successive periods very many who desired to remain in the National Church were excluded, until at the present time it is claimed that only one-half of the nation is really attached to the Established Church. Towards the end of the last century a number of clergymen who had at first sympathised with the Methodist revival adopted a strict Calvinism which separated them from Wesley's movement. They remained in the Church, and formed the "Evangelical" party, remarkable for their earnest spiritual sermons, their philanthropy, and their missions. They founded the Church Missionary Society, and (with the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents) the Religious Tract Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. As a reaction from their moderate statement of the claims of the Church, and inattention to form and supposed incompleteness of teaching on sacramental subjects, the High Church and Tractarian party arose (1833), and in "Tracts for the Times," insisted on the Divine authority and mission of the Church of England as a branch of the Church Catholic, possessing continuity from apostolic times, unbroken succession of the ministry, and true episcopacy. They directed fresh attention to the Fathers and to the traditions and decisions of the undivided Church. As to the Papacy, many of them were more inclined to revere than to censure it, and the name of Protestant became hateful to them. They endeavoured to re-introduce the doctrine of the mass as a sacrifice. The cry arose that they were Romanists at heart and wished to betray the English Church to Roman Catholicism; and this appeared to be justified by the secession of many prominent Tractarians

**Gradual
restriction
of English
Church.**

Evangelicals.

**High Church
and
Ritualist
party.**

to Rome. Later, various legal decisions have allowed the holding within the Church of England of certain sacramental doctrines deemed by the Evangelicals to be contrary to the meaning of the Articles, and susceptible of a direct Roman interpretation; and this view appears to be confirmed by the Romanised ceremonial introduced by the "Ritualists," together with habitual confession, sisterhoods, limited communions, gorgeous vestments, etc. The rise of the High Church party was almost simultaneous

Broad Churchmen with that of a Broader school of thought, which, partly under the influence of German rationalism, partly under that of modern science, ascribed a lower place to the authority of the Bible than the Reformers, and allowed that its verbal infallibility was not necessary to its acceptance as containing all that was essential to salvation. While some of them firmly believed in the supernatural aspects of Christianity and the Deity of Christ, others qualified these to a varying extent. Some few Broad Churchmen have left the Church and become Unitarians; but on the whole they retain their positions, giving in some cases a special interpretation to the Thirty-nine Articles.

The Church of England is by some called a bundle of divergent sects; but there is a very large number of members who hold to the distinctive dogmas of no one school, but are attached to the plain teaching of the Prayer-Book. Next to these the High Churchmen are apparently the most numerous and active section.

The first important body of Nonconformists in England were the Baptists, sometimes called Anabaptists (rebaptisers), as requiring those who had been baptised in infancy to be baptised again (by immersion) in adult life, on making a voluntary profession of Christianity. Their fanaticism on the Continent against all who supported infant baptism, as well as against papal errors, led to bitter persecutions by all parties, leading to revolts, such as the Peasants' War in Saxony (1534). The earliest confession of Baptists is given by Zwingli, and includes baptism on profession of repentance, belief in, and forgiveness of sins through Christ, accompanied with

change of life. Those who fall into sin after baptism are to be excommunicated. Their other doctrines agree with the Calvinistic Reformed Churches. They appeared in England in Henry VIII.'s reign, and some were burnt. In Elizabeth's and James I.'s reign no tolerance was allowed to Baptists; and during the greater part of the seventeenth century, except during the Commonwealth time, they were persecuted. It was not till after the Revolution of 1688, and the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, that their worship was free. Their tenets gradually spread; and as each Church adopted its creed without control by any organisation, a distinction gradually arose between the Particular or Calvinistic Baptists, **Particular Baptists.** and the General or Arminian Baptists. The **General Baptists.** former are the majority, and are Calvinists in doctrine, while independent in their Church organisation. While rejecting infant baptism, they believe in the salvation of all children dying before the age of responsibility. In their eyes baptism is not a regenerative act, but an outward sign of a grace already conferred. They are opposed to all State Churches, and advocate voluntarism and religious freedom. No Church has any power over any other Church. No minister has any authority in any Church except that which has called him to be its pastor. Deacons are the Church administrators and **General Baptists.** pastors' assistants. The General Baptists are **General Baptists.** those who reject unconditional election to salvation, and maintain the freedom of man's will and the possibility of falling from grace. Some of the congregations in the last century tended towards Socinianism and have joined the Unitarians. A number of Particular Baptists have become more moderate in their Calvinism, and more liberal in their theology.

The Mennonites represent the original Anabaptists, collected into a peaceful, unobtrusive body in Holland and Western Germany, by Menno Simonis, about **The** 1536. The Confession of Waterland, which **Mennonites.** they for the most part acknowledge, shows their affinity with the Quakers. Agreeing with the other Baptists as to adult baptism, they differ in using sprinkling instead of

immersion. They admit hereditary sin, but deny the individual's guilt for it. They believe in universal redemption and conditional election. Taking oaths and holding secular offices is forbidden, together with law-suits, revenge, violence, and worldly amusements. They have spread very considerably in Russia and the United States.

The term "Puritans" sometimes covers all who dissent from the Church of England, and adopt a narrow principle of Church government and more strictly avoid Roman doctrine and ceremonies; but it properly designates a more definite party in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The introduction of Calvin's followers into important positions in the latter part of Henry VIII.'s and in Edward VI.'s reign, had much influence in spreading the doctrines of the Swiss Reformers; and during the Marian persecutions many English divines went to Geneva and other Protestant centres, and on their return, in Elizabeth's reign, brought back a strong attachment to Genevan simplicity and hatred of Romish vestments and ceremonies. Some of their proposals were accepted, but others, especially about vestments, were rejected; and in 1560, those who refused to conform began to be deprived of their cures, but great difficulty occurred in supplying their places. Some of the Puritans chose to remain within the Church, conforming as little as might be to the regulations they disliked, while others separated themselves, though not supported by Knox, Beza, and Bullinger. Thomas Cartwright, a notable Cambridge professor, became their chief literary exponent, his "Second Admonition," addressed to Parliament in 1572, being a powerful attack upon the Church; and the "Book of Discipline" drawn up by him and Travers about 1580, contains a complete organisation for Church government on the Genevan model. Several Churches with presbyterian discipline were formed from 1572 onwards, but soon suppressed, or only carried on in secret. The troubles of those who desired to continue Puritans within the Established Church, and of those who left it for the sake of Puritan principles, increased during the latter part

of Elizabeth's and the early Stuart reigns. Many took refuge in America, the first ship, the *Mayflower*, leaving Plymouth on 6th Sept., 1620. Their numbers were greatly increased by Laud's arbitrary discipline in Charles I.'s reign, and they constituted a powerful basis for the new free reformed Churches of America. **Emigration to New England.** Under the Commonwealth the National Church was largely given up to freedom and irregular proceedings, the surplice being extensively discarded and extemporaneous prayer being frequent in the parish churches. The old Puritanism now became extinct, and the opponents of the Established Church fell into two main groups, the Presbyterians and the Independents. After the passing of the Act of Uniformity (1662), the name of Nonconformist was generally applied to those clergymen (with their adherents) who refused to conform to the Church of England. Nearly 2,000 ministers were then ejected as Nonconformists.

The origin of the Independents is traced to the reign of Elizabeth, and more especially to Robert Browne (1550-1631), who wrote strongly against the evils of **The Churches containing evil livers and preachers, Independents.** and the interference of the civil power with religion; but after suffering much from persecution and imprisonment, he returned to the ministry of the English Church. Many others by private study of the Bible came in his time to believe in the separate organisation and equal authority of every congregation of believers. They endured much persecution for their opinions, and formed many private Churches or assemblies. Many took refuge in Holland, and formed Churches at Amsterdam and Leyden. In 1606 Henry Jacob returned to England from Leyden and formed an Independent Church in Southwark, having previously defined his position in a petition to King James, that every particular Church should be allowed to elect, ordain, and deprive her own ministers, and to exercise all other lawful ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Growing apace, though constantly drained of their best blood by the New England emigration, the Independents exercised considerable influence in the Westminster Assembly.

Under the Protectorate of Cromwell they became the most important religious body, and in 1658 ministers and **Savoy** delegates of more than 100 congregations met **Conference.** at the Savoy and subscribed a "Declaration," which set forth, besides the Westminster Confession in a slightly modified form, a "Declaration of the Institution of Churches and the Order appointed in them by Jesus Christ." It stated that "a particular Church consists of officers and members; the Lord Christ having given to His called ones,—united in Church order,—liberty and power to choose persons fitted by the Holy Ghost to be over them in the Lord. The officers appointed by Christ to be chosen and set apart by the Church are pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons." The call to the ministry by the Church is to be followed by fasting and prayer, and the imposition of hands by the eldership of the Church. A Church furnished with officers has full power to administer all Christ's ordinances. Admonition and excommunication are within the power of the Church. These Savoy Declarations have no binding power upon any Church, but were substantially approved by most Independent Churches. The Independents were fiercely persecuted under the Conventicle Acts of 1663 and 1670, and other oppressive regulations. In 1689 they gained toleration, and flourished considerably in the 18th century. In 1833 an impulse towards united action led to the foundation of the Congregational Union of **The** **Congrega-** **tional Union.** England and Wales, which drew up a moderately Calvinistic declaration. It is not imposed on any Church, and the Union does not assume legislative authority or the functions of a Court of Appeal. A number of ministers hold opinions considered to be "liberal" if not rationalistic. The term "Congregational" has been adopted by the majority of Independent Churches, to emphasise their positive aspect, rather than the opposition to establishments, popery, prelacy, parliament, signified by the word "Independent."

The Society of Friends, popularly known as the "Quakers," takes its rise from George Fox, son of a weaver, who in 1648 began to preach repentance and

the universality and sufficiency of the light of the Holy Spirit. The term Quakers was given to his followers by a magistrate whom Fox had bidden to "tremble at the word of God." He taught that the gift of preaching came directly from the operation of the Holy Spirit in the soul, and needed no other authorisation. Thus every one, male or female, might preach when "moved by the Spirit." Fox gave up all rites, ceremonies, and forms of worship, holding that silent communion with God was as acceptable as the utterance of prayer and praise. Naturally the Quakers were opposed by men of all parties; but their principles made way against much persecution, notwithstanding many eccentricities and extravagances. They have never become a Church imposing by numbers, though the character of individual members has had remarkable influence. The doctrines of the Friends, other than those already given, are the universal love of God to man, revealed to the soul of the heathen as well as the Christian; denial of the lawfulness of war, oaths, amusements; the use of the plainest language and dress. They recognise in a modified way the offices of minister, elder, and overseer; but in their meetings they frequently sit silent unless any member is "moved" to speak or pray. All members are entitled to watch over one another for good. It is in assigning supremacy to the "Inward Light" that they most differ from the Reformers. In America they became very numerous; and owing to the views put forward by Elias Hicks, approaching nearly to Arianism, a large body seceded in 1827, and are known as Hicksite Friends. They assert their belief in the Divinity of Christ, "the immaculate Son of God," but they do not hold the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. They affirm that "the Scriptures do not teach that we inherit any fault from Adam or any of our ancestors; nor do we feel any compunction for their sins. The language of our Saviour clearly implies that little children are innocent, for, He says, 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.'"

We will here summarise the leading points of Armin-

ianism (see p. 421), which have been to a large extent **Arminianism** adopted by the Methodists. They are, (1) that predestination is conditioned by God's foreknowledge of the faith or unbelief of men. (2) That Christ died for all men, and His salvation is intended for all; but (3) God's grace is not irresistible, and only those



JOHN WESLEY.

who accept it by faith are saved. (4) Man can only attain saving faith by regeneration by God in Christ. (5) Believers are capable of falling from grace. Arminianism was held to a considerable extent in the Church of England (and still is), before Wesley adopted it.

John Wesley (1703-1791), the founder of Methodism, was a learned Oxford graduate and Church of England

clergyman, who in 1729 formed a small society for cultivating personal religion at Oxford, on some-^{John Wesley.} what High Church principles, and nicknamed "Methodists." It was not till after he had been on a mission to Georgia, that he realised his need of "conversion," and through the teaching of Peter Böhler, a Moravian, gained a personal trust in Christ and a conscious assurance of his sins being forgiven (1738). Meanwhile, George Whitefield, one of the Oxford^{George Whitefield.} Methodists, had become an open-air preacher, and produced wonderful effects by his eloquence. The two joined heartily in evangelistic work, and formed societies, at first intended solely to be within the Church of England. But in numerous cases Wesley's converts were repelled from communion by the Anglican clergy, and Wesley was generally prohibited from preaching in parish churches. In 1740 Wesley separated both from the Moravians and from Whitefield, the latter adopting Calvinistic views. Perhaps the point most insisted on in early Methodism, was the necessity of distinct, usually instantaneous, "conversion," after repentance from sin; but the possession of a consciousness of forgiveness and of the Divine favour (known as "the witness of the Spirit"), justification by faith alone, and Christian perfectibility, or the possible attainment of a state of sinlessness, or freedom from the power of sin (though not from "involuntary transgressions"), are almost equally prominent. Wesley set himself "to reform the nation, more particularly the Church, and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land." To his "genius for godliness" he added a remarkable power of organisation, which, well seconded by his successors, has made the Methodist bodies as important and active as any section of Protestantism. The doctrinal standard rather than the creed of Methodism is contained in fifty-three of Wesley's sermons and his "Notes on the New Testament." It was not till 1784 that Wesley, though long convinced that the office of a bishop was originally the same with that of a presbyter, ordained the Rev. Dr. Coke as superintendent or bishop for America, Coke, in his turn, ordaining Francis Asbury

as presbyter and bishop. Asbury was an indefatigable **Methodist** evangelist, and largely instrumental in building **Episcopacy**. up the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, whose bishops, however, are but chief among the presbyters they superintend. In 1788 Wesley ordained a number of his lay preachers to assist him in administering the sacraments to his societies; and in 1795 the "Conference" of his ministers authorised the administration of the sacraments wherever desired. In 1836 the practice of ordination of ministers by imposition of hands of senior ministers was adopted. In the present century there has been a gradual growth of the power of the laity in Methodism, after several exciting controversies, attended by considerable secessions and the formation of large but minor Methodist bodies. The tendency now is towards reunion. Class-meetings of a few members for religious conversation under "leaders," lay local preachers, quarterly meetings of leaders and office-bearers in every society, district committees with ministerial chairmen, and annual conferences of ministers and laymen, constitute some of the special features of Methodism. Various minor modifications are found among the Primitive Methodists, the United Methodist Free Churches, the "New Connexion," the Bible Christians, etc. An Ecumenical Methodist Conference (without legislative power) was held in London in 1881.

Whitefield became closely associated with Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, who from 1748 set up chapels under **Countess of** her own management, appointing her numerous **Huntingdon's** "chaplains" to be their ministers. At first **Connexion.** desiring to remain in connection with the Church of England, she found it necessary, in 1781, to claim the privileges and status of Dissenters. She adopted Calvinistic views, and her society was known as the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. In 1791, when she died, it included 64 chapels, most of which since her death have become Independent or Congregationalist, though retaining a portion of the English Liturgy.

Welsh Calvinistic Methodism arose about 1735-6 in several counties of Wales, Howel Harris, Daniel Row-

lands, and Howell Davies being its chief leaders, at first in connection with the Church of England. **Welsh** Extemporaneous preaching and revivalism **Calvinistic** became its prominent characteristics. The first **Methodists.** Calvinistic Methodist Conference was held at Waterford, in Glamorganshire, under Whitefield's presidency, in 1743. It was not till 1811 that the preachers became pastors and were ordained to administer the sacraments, although an Order of Church Government and Rules of Discipline had been adopted in 1801. The present form of government is described as "modified Presbyterianism."

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was a Swede, son of a Lutheran bishop, who in 1745 gave up secular pursuits, believing himself called in a miraculous man- **Emanuel** ner to a holy office, after having had spiritual **Swedenborg.** revelations and talk with spirits and angels. He promulgated a series of "revelations," including many dicta on spiritual things which only his followers can accept as authoritative. One of his chief doctrines is that of "correspondences" between the natural and spiritual worlds, leading him to discard much of the Old Testament and all the New except the Gospels and the Revelation; others are, that the last judgment has already taken place (in 1757), and that the New Jerusalem has already come down in the shape of the "New Church." His views on the Trinity resembled those of the Sabellians (p. 231). Rejecting the doctrine of justification by faith only, he said, "To fear God and to work righteousness is to have charity; and whoever has charity, whatever his religious sentiments may be, will be saved." In 1787 the "New Church" was first formed in London, with an **New** elaborate creed, depending mainly upon the **Church.** members' discernment in the Scriptures of a "spiritual sense heretofore unknown, whence it is Divinely inspired and holy in every syllable, as well as a literal sense which is the basis of its spiritual sense." On the whole, the creed of the New Church is an Evangelical Christian one, qualified by its own peculiarities. The Church is administered by conferences of ministers and laymen.

The "Irvingites," or Catholic Apostolic Church, arose

mainly in connection with the ministry of Edward Irving,
Edward a singularly gifted and earnest minister of the
Scotch Established Church, in Regent Square



EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

Church, London, who had preached largely on the hope
of Christ's speedy coming, and the revival of the miracu-

lous gifts of the Spirit manifested in the early Church. In 1830, in his own Church and in western Scotland, prophetic utterances and speaking in unknown tongues occurred to several members and caused great excitement. Irving was expelled from the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1833, and in 1834 was re-ordained by one of the "apostles" of the new system. The main tenets of the New Church are that all the gifts of the Apostolic age are revived, and that they have apostles, prophets, evangelists, angels or bishops, presbyters, and deacons; all except the deacons being "called" by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of its prophets. They hope for the speedy coming of Christ. The Church has ritualistic worship and an elaborate liturgy, going in several respects beyond the Church of England. It believes in baptismal regeneration and the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which is not only a sacrament, but also a sacrifice of thanksgiving, connected with the memory of the dead. In many points they agree with the Church of England. They adopt the term "Catholic Apostolic," not as an exclusive one, but to signify that they are a part of the one Church, adopting the literal teaching of the New Testament.

The Unitarians claim that their beliefs accord with primitive Christianity, and have always been held by larger or smaller sections of the Church. Their modern origin has been traced to Faustus Socinus (1539-1604), an Italian, who in the sixteenth century taught that Christ did not exist before His birth; that God is One, and that Christ and the Holy Spirit are not God; that Christ died for the infirmities of human nature, which He had assumed; and that He did not become immortal till His ascension; that the good will have eternal happiness, while the evil will be punished for a limited time. No definite organisation on this basis was formed in England; but many Anti-Trinitarians suffered for their opinions. Unitarian views were adopted by a number of English Churchmen in the eighteenth century; many of these resigned their

**Catholic
Apostolic
Church.**

Unitarians.

Socinus.

benefices. Joseph Priestley, in the latter part of the last century expressed the belief that the Bible was not an inspired book, that Christ was no more than a man, and that it was idolatry to worship Him. It was not till 1813 that the Unitarians were placed by law in the same position as other Dissenters, it having been previously reckoned blasphemy to speak against the doctrine of the Trinity. Many Independent and Presbyterian Churches in England and America became more or less Unitarian. William Ellery

Channing. Channing (1780-1842) was the great apostle of Unitarianism in the United States. Unitarians conspicuously advocate free inquiry and criticism of the Bible and all religious beliefs, with progressive modifications according to the advance of knowledge. They believe in the fatherhood and benevolence of God, who wills the salvation of all who will accept it. Man's nature they regard as not essentially corrupt, but imperfect, needing regeneration and renewal by that Divine influence called the Holy Spirit. Jesus Christ they term at once Son of God and Son of Man, man's true Teacher, Leader, Life, and Example. Many shades of belief, with a claim of valid Christianity, are included in Unitarianism. Lack of space prevents us from referring to such bodies as the "Brethren," the Sandemanians, the Mormons, the Shakers, the Salvation Army, and many others.

In concluding this survey of religions, we may take note of modern rationalism, seeking to explain every feature of religion on natural principles, apart from any supernatural manifestation. Its growth during the present century, since the laws of nature have become better known, has been enormous, both in Germany and in Great Britain. Its determination to accept no explanation involving an unknown law or cause, when a known law or cause will satisfactorily account for the phenomenon, has been carried by some into the extreme of refusing to believe in any unknown or "supernatural" cause of religious phenomena.

Lastly, in reaction from over-credulity, bibliolatry, and papal infallibility, men have professed themselves "Agnos-

tics" in religion, believing that nothing can be truly known beyond facts perceptible by the senses, or principles deducible therefrom. The old biblical utterance, "Canst thou by searching find out God?" has been converted by them into a dogma, that "Man cannot know God," and even into an assumption that God cannot reveal Himself to the rational creature He has made. Yet in the testimonies they furnish to Christ, we find some of the strongest statements as to His teaching. The following quotation from one of the most notable recent works against miracles and the supernatural in religion contains the following expressions :—

"The teaching of Jesus carried morality to the sublimest point attained, or even attainable, by humanity. . . . Such morality, based upon the intelligent and earnest acceptance of Divine law, and perfect recognition of the brotherhood of man, is the highest conceivable by humanity; and although its power and influence must augment with the increase of enlightenment, it is itself beyond development, consisting as it does of principles unlimited in their range and inexhaustible in their application. . . . No supernatural halo can heighten its spiritual beauty, and no mysticism deepen its holiness. In its perfect simplicity it is sublime, and in its profound wisdom it is eternal."—*Supernatural Religion*, ii. 487-489.

Such a confession as the above, which all Christians will agree in, is surely a great gain. The ages since Christianity arose are but a small portion of the life of the earth, even since man appeared; and in spite of contradictory appearances and movements, we may safely say that human progress in all philanthropy has been far greater during these ages than in any equal period before. Therefore we may be reasonably certain that the same cause, the same Divine Cause, will in future ages bring about still further progress and enlightenment.

THE END.

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